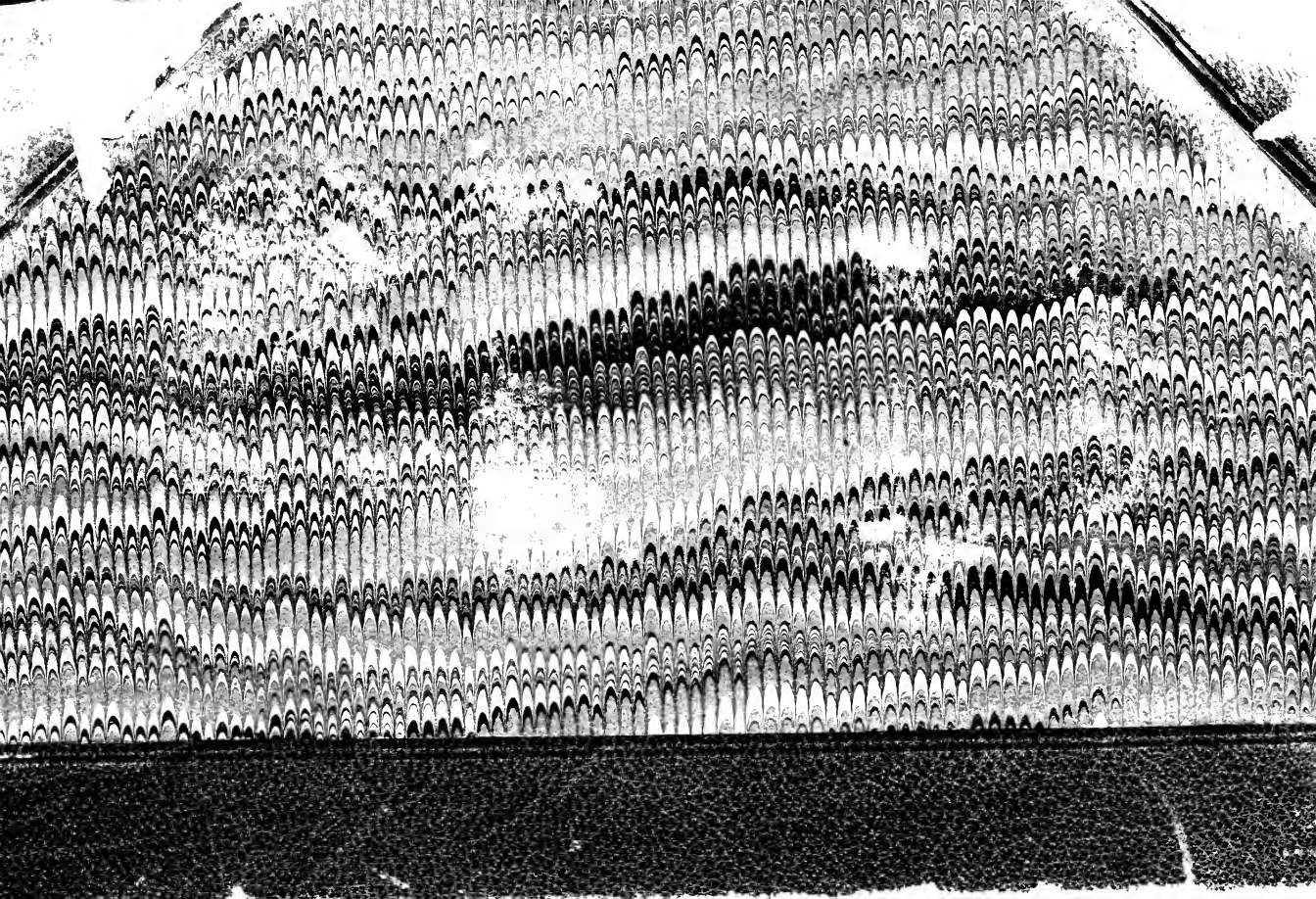

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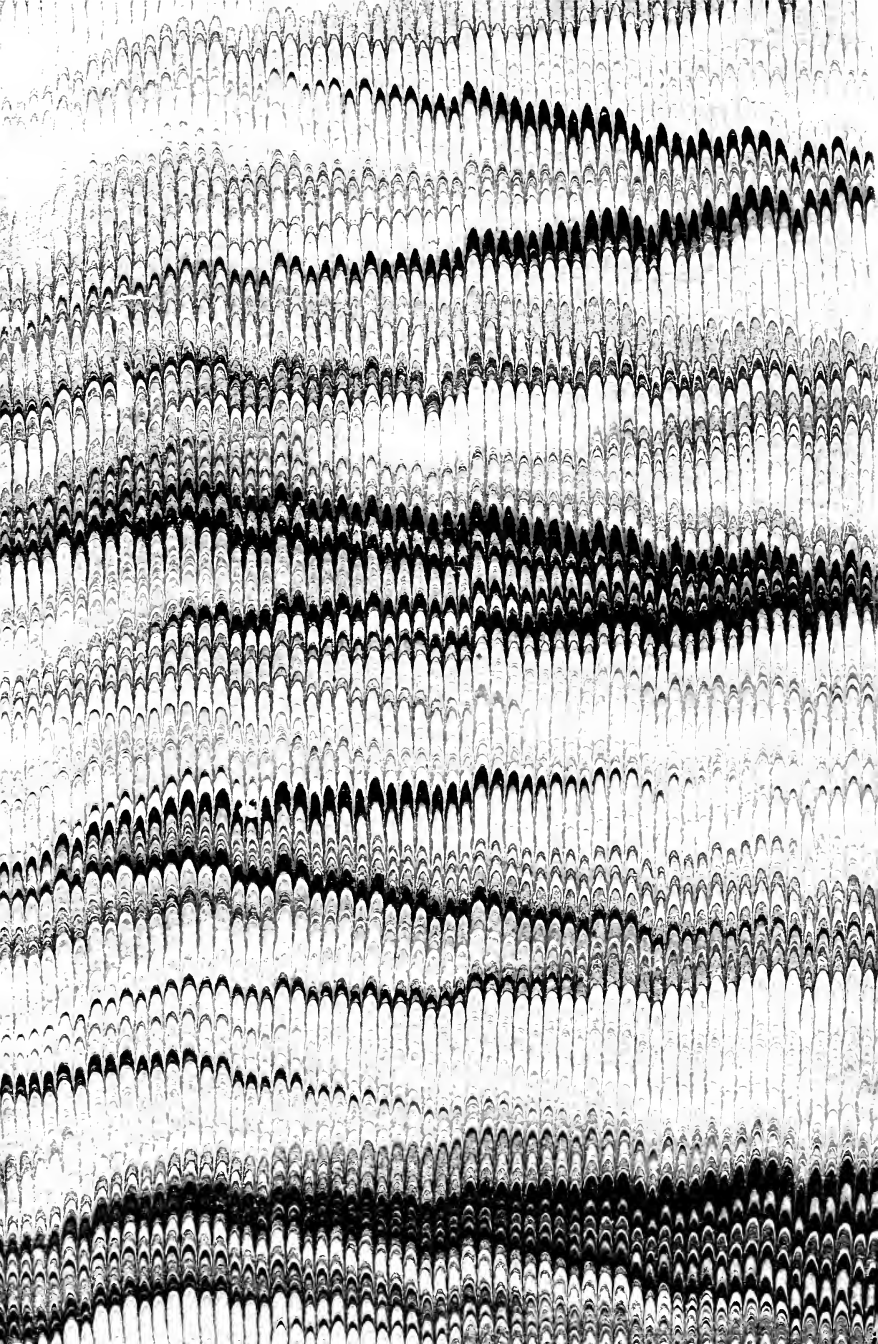

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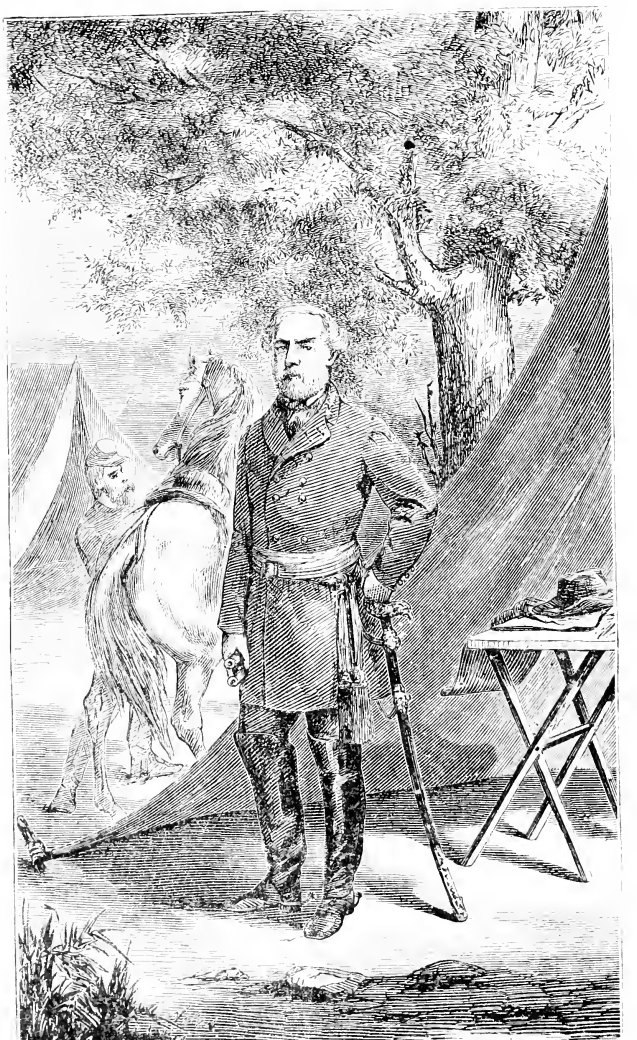

Gen. Lee, Horse and Tent.

POPULAR LIFE

OF

Gen. Robert Edward Lee.

By Emily V. Mason.

Dedicated by Permission to Mrs. Lee.

Illustrated with 17 Original Designs by Professor Volck.

"One such example is worth more to earth
Than the stained triumphs of ten thousand Cæsars."

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Dedicatory Preface.

My Dear Mrs. Lee:

With your permission I dedicate to you this life of our beloved hero. It may seem daring in one so unpractised to attempt a theme so lofty. But I have hoped that the love and admiration I felt for General Lee would inspire me with ability to present him to others as I knew him.

Other writers will exhibit his public life, his genius and magnanimity. I wish to show more of his domestic character and private virtues; his unwearied industry, his self-control and self-denial, his unselfish temper; his generous kindness, his gentle manners; his modesty and moderation in success; his patience in difficulties and disappointments, and his noble fortitude in defeat and disaster.

That you, who are most jealous of his fame, should honor me with your approval, leads me to hope for the like indulgence from the American people to whose history he belongs.

EMILY V. MASON.

Baltimore, *June*, 1871.

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A POPULAR LIFE OF

GENERAL ROBERT EDWARD LEE.

CHAPTER I.

Genealogy — Family Seat of the Lees in Virginia.

THE Lees of Virginia come from one of the ancient families of England. The founder of the family came in with William the Conqueror, and acquired estates in Essex.

Lionel Lee went with Richard Cœur de Lion to the third Crusade, in 1192, and was created Earl of Litchfield at the siege of Acre. His armor is in the horse armory of the Tower of London.

Two of the family were Knights-Companions of the Garter. Their banners, surmounted by the Lee arms, were placed in Saint George's Chapel, at Windsor Castle.

Sir Henry Lee was Knight of the Garter in Queen Elizabeth's time. The Earldom of Litchfield passed to the fifth baronet of his line, in 1674.

Richard Lee, a younger son of the house of Litch-

field,* came over to Virginia, in the reign of Charles the First, as Secretary to the Colony, and member of the King's Privy Council. He is described as a man of "good stature, comely visage, enterprising genius, sound head, and generous nature," — traits of person and character marked in his descendants. He was a staunch Loyalist in the Civil War, and, with the Governor, Sir William Berkley, held the Colony to its allegiance until after the fall of the king. Cromwell sent naval and land forces to compel the submission of the Colony. The Colonial authorities made a treaty with the forces of the Commonwealth, in which Virginia is styled an "Independent Dominion." This was the origin of her name, "Old Dominion."

Richard Henry Lee.

The king showed his gratitude for this loyalty by ordering the arms of Virginia to be added to those of England, France, Ireland, and Scotland, with the motto, "*En dat Virginia quintam*," (Behold,

* He was the seventh son of Sir Robert Lee of Hulcott, and younger brother of Sir Henry Lee of Quarrendon and Ditchley.

Virginia makes the fifth,) which was changed, after the union of England and Scotland, to "*En dat Virginia quartam.*" *

THOMAS LEE.

Thomas Lee, grandson of Richard, was President of the Council and Governor of the Colony — the first native American in that office, under the British Crown. He was so esteemed in England, that when his country-seat, Stratford, † in Westmoreland, was burned, it was rebuilt

* Mr. Edward C. Meade, of Albemarle County, Virginia, tells us of a medal which was ploughed up on his farm, of the following description:—On one side a head, with the words, "Georgius III., Rex;" on the other, a shield surmounted by a crown, on which are quartered the arms of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Virginia; the whole encircled with the word, "Virginia, 1773."

A similar coin is in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

† Mr. Lossing, in his "Field-Book of the Revolution," says of this fine mansion: "There is no structure in our country to compare with it. The walls of the first story are two and a half feet thick, and the second story two feet — composed of brick imported from England. It originally contained about one hundred rooms. Besides the main building, there are four offices, one at each corner, containing fifteen rooms. The stables are capable of accommodating one hundred horses. Its cost was about eighty thousand dollars."

by the Government and the merchants of London. Queen Caroline contributed to it from her privy purse, in a complimentary letter to him under her own hand. He is known in Colonial History as "President Lee."

The following is an extract from the Will of this remarkable man:

"In the name of God, Amen. I, Thomas Lee, in the County of Westmoreland in Virginia, Esq., President and Commander-in-chief of the said Colony, being (thanks be to God) of sound and disposing sense and memory, do make and declare this my last will and testament, all written with my own hand this twenty-second day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine (1749). First my soul I do resign, with all humility and sincerity, to the Lord God of the Heavens from whom my sinful flesh received it, in steadfast hope of mercy and forgiveness of all my sins and offences by the sufferings and death of His beloved Son Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Redeemer of all men. Amen. Amen. Amen.

"As to my body, I desire, if it pleases God that I die anywhere in Virginia, it may be buried between my late dearest wife and my honored mother, and that the bricks on the side next my wife may be moved, and my coffin placed as near hers as is possible, without removing or disturbing the remains of my mother. Having observed much indecent mirth at funerals, I desire that last piece of human vanity be omitted, and that, attended only by some

of those friends and relations that are near, my body may be silently interred with only the Church ceremony, and that a funeral sermon, with instruction to the living, be preached at the Parish Church, near Stratford, on any other day." Etc., etc.

Among the sons of Thomas Lee who acted a leading part in public affairs, were the orator Richard Henry Lee, of Chantilly, a leader of the Revolutionary Congress, and the mover of the Resolution which declared the independence of the Colonies; Francis Lightfoot Lee, a member of the Congress, and a signer of the Declaration; and Arthur Lee, who was minister of the Colonies in France and other countries of Europe during the Revolution.

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

General Henry Lee, father of Robert E. Lee, was grandson of a brother of President Lee. He served with great distinction in the war of the Revolution, and is known in history as "Light Horse Harry." Though young — not of age when he entered the service — his military genius was at once

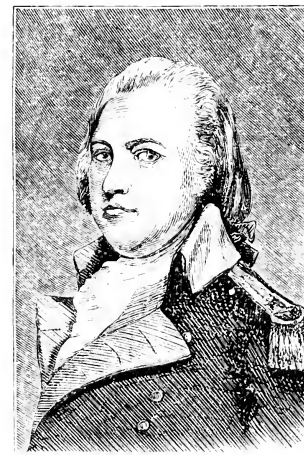
conspicuous, and drew to him the peculiar confidence of General Washington.*

When the war ended, he retired to Stratford, in Westmoreland County, which estate came into his possession through his first marriage with his cousin Matilda, daughter of Philip Ludwell Lee. General Robert Lee, in his Life of his father prefixed to the third edition of the "Southern Campaigns," has given us a description of this fine old mansion.

"The approach to the house is on the south, along the side of a lawn several hundred acres in extent, adorned with cedars, oaks, and forest poplars. On ascending a hill, not far from the gate, the traveller comes in full view of the mansion, when the road turns to the right and leads straight to a grove of sugar-maples, around which it sweeps to the house. The edifice is built in the form of an H, and of bricks brought from England. The cross furnishes a saloon of thirty feet cube, and in the centre of each wing rises a cluster of chimneys, which form the columns of two pavilions connected by a balustrade. The owner, who before the Revolution was a member of the King's Council, lived here in great state, and kept a band of musicians, to whose airs his daughters Matilda and Flora, with their companions, danced in the saloon, or promenaded on the house-top."

* His mother (Miss Grymes) had been the object of General Washington's youthful admiration. He wrote sentimental verses to her, and spoke of her as his "lowland beauty." He adds, "I was very unhappy, but never told my admiration."

General Henry Lee won equal distinction in civil and in military life. He rose to the first rank in his country in politics and letters. His "Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department" is a history worthy the great events narrated in it. His eloquence in Congress caused his selection by both houses to deliver the funeral oration of General Washington. The resolutions which he drew up on this occasion, and which were presented by Judge Marshall in General Lee's temporary absence, contained those celebrated words, "*First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.*"



GENERAL HENRY LEE.

General Henry Lee was three times chosen Governor of Virginia. He represented Westmoreland in the Virginia Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution after a severe struggle, in which Patrick Henry exerted all his great powers to defeat it, and predicted with wonderful sagacity the future ascendency of the Union over the liberties of the States. General Lee and Mr. Madison were its leading advocates.

So highly were General Henry Lee's services upon another occasion esteemed by his countrymen, that a vote of thanks was passed by Congress, and a medal presented to him, on which his deeds were designated in the following beautiful words: "*Notwithstanding rivers and intrenchments, he, with a small band, conquered the foe by warlike skill and prowess, and firmly bound by his humanity those who had been conquered by his arms;*" — words which, as one of his biographers has remarked, may be applied with equal truth to his son. General Henry Lee was twice married. First, to Matilda, daughter of Philip Ludwell Lee, of Stratford, who left him a daughter, Lucy, and a son, Henry, a learned scholar and eloquent writer in politics and history. His second wife was Anne Carter, daughter of Charles Carter, of Shirley, on the James River; of the distinguished and wealthy family descended from Robert Carter, known in Colonial History as "King Carter," from his immense estates.

The children of the second marriage were Charles Carter Lee, of Powhattan, Virginia; Sidney Smith Lee, a commander in the U. S. Navy in 1860 — afterwards of the C. S. Navy; General Robert Edward Lee; and two daughters, Anne and Mildred Lee.

STRATFORD, BIRTH PLACE OF ROBERT E. LEE.

CHAPTER II.

Birth — Childhood — His Devotion to his Mother — His thoughtful Character — School-Life in Alexandria — West Point — Enters the Engineer Corps — Marriage — Arlington — The White House — Promotion — Improvement of the Navigation of the Mississippi — Letters to his Family.

ROBERT EDWARD LEE first saw the light at Stratford, Westmoreland County, Virginia, on the 19th of January, 1807, in the same room in which two of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were born — Richard Henry Lee, and Francis Lightfoot Lee.

He was the fourth child of General Henry Lee, and was named for his maternal uncles, Robert and Edward Carter, of Shirley.

When he was but four years of age, his father removed to Alexandria, the better to educate his children; and there are many persons yet living in that old town who remember him at that early age. From these sources we are assured that his childhood was as remarkable as his manhood for the modesty and thoughtfulness of his character, and for the performance of every duty which devolved upon him.

The family lived on Cameron Street, near the old Christ Church — then on Orinoco Street — and afterwards in the house known as the Parsonage.

At this period General Henry Lee was absent in the West Indies in pursuit of health; and in one of the admirable letters written to his son Carter, then a student at Cambridge, he says: "Robert, who was always good, will be confirmed in his happy turn of mind by his ever watchful and affectionate mother."

When he was eleven years of age, his father died.

From one of his family, who knew him best, we are told, that from his excellent mother he learned, at this early age, to "practise self-denial and self-control, as well as the strictest economy in all financial concerns," virtues which he retained throughout his life.

This good mother was a great invalid; one of his sisters was delicate, and many years absent in Philadelphia under the care of physicians. The oldest son Carter was at Cambridge, Sidney Smith in the Navy, and the other sister too young to be of much aid in household matters; so Robert was the housekeeper, carried "the keys," attended to the marketing, managed all the out-door business, and took care of his mother's horses.

At the hour when the other school-boys went to play, he hurried home to order his mother's drive, and would then be seen carrying her in his arms to the carriage, and arranging her cushions with the gentleness of an experienced nurse. One of his relatives still lives who was often the companion of

these drives. She tells us of the exertions he would make on these occasions to entertain and amuse his mother; assuring her, with the gravity of an old man, that, unless she was cheerful, the drive would not benefit her. When she complained of cold or "draughts," he would pull from his pocket a great jack-knife and newspaper, and make her laugh with his efforts to improvise curtains, and shut out the intrusive wind which whistled through the crevices of the old family-coach.

When he left her to go to West Point, his mother was heard to say, "How can I live without Robert? he is both son and daughter to me."

Years after, when he came home from West Point, he found one of the chief actors in his childhood's drama — his mother's old coachman "Nat" — ill, and threatened with consumption. He immediately took him to the milder climate of Georgia, nursed him with the tenderness of a son, and secured him the best medical advice. But the spring-time saw the faithful old servant laid in the grave by the hands of his kind young master.

General Lee used to say that he was very fond hunting when a boy — that he sometimes followed the hounds on foot all day. This will account for his well-developed form, and for that wonderful strength which was never known to fail him in all the fatigues and privations of his after-life.

His first teacher was an Irish gentleman, Mr.

William B. Leary, who came to Lexington to visit him after the termination of the war; and when General Lee was returning from Georgia about two years ago, this gentleman came a great distance to meet him, and they had another most pleasant meeting. Only last summer, when General Lee was in Alexandria, one of the old neighbors found him gazing wistfully over the palings of the garden in which he used to play. "I am looking," said he, "to see if the old snowball-trees are still here. I should have been sorry to miss them."

One of his friends gives a remarkable incident to show the influence which, even at this early day, his simple dignity and high sense of right exercised upon all who came in contact with him, the old as well as the young. Being invited, during a vacation, to visit a friend of his family who lived in the gay, rollicking style then but too common in old Virginia, he found in his host one of the grand old gentlemen of that day, with every fascination of mind and manner, who, though not of dissipated habits, led a life which the sterner sense of the boy could not approve. The old man shrunk before the unspoken rebuke of the youthful hero. Coming to his bedside the night before his departure, he lamented the idle and useless life into which he had fallen, excusing himself upon the score of loneliness, and the sorrow which weighed upon him in the loss of those most dear. In the most impressive manner

he besought his young guest to be warned by his example; prayed him to cherish the good habits he had already acquired, and promised to listen to his entreaties that he would change his own life, and thereby secure more entirely his respect and affection.

When it was decided that he should go to West Point, Robert was sent to Mr. Benjamin Hallowell, a famous teacher of mathematics in Alexandria, whose estimation of his pupil may be seen in the following extract from one of his letters:

"Robert E. Lee entered my school in Alexandria, Virginia, in the winter of 1824–5, to study mathematics preparatory to his going to West Point. He was a most exemplary student in every respect. He was never behind time at his studies; never failed in a single recitation; was perfectly observant of the rules and regulations of the Institution; was gentlemanly, unobtrusive, and respectful in all his deportment to teachers and his fellow-students. His specialty was *finishing up*. He imparted a finish and a neatness, as he proceeded, to everything he undertook. One of the branches of mathematics he studied with me was Conic Sections, in which some of the diagrams are very complicated. He drew the diagrams on a slate; and although he well knew that the one he was drawing would have to be removed to make room for another, he drew each one with as much accuracy and finish, lettering and all, as if it was to be engraved and printed. He

carried the same traits he exhibited at my school with him to West Point, where I have been told he never received a mark of demerit, and graduated head of his class.

"A feeling of mutual kindness and respect continued between us to the close of his life.

. . . . . .

"He was a great friend and advocate of education.

"It was a matter of great regret to me that he thought it right to take the course he did in our recent national difficulties; but I never entertained the least doubt that he was influenced by what he believed to be his duty, and what was entirely in harmony with the requirements of a gentleman and the dictates of honor."

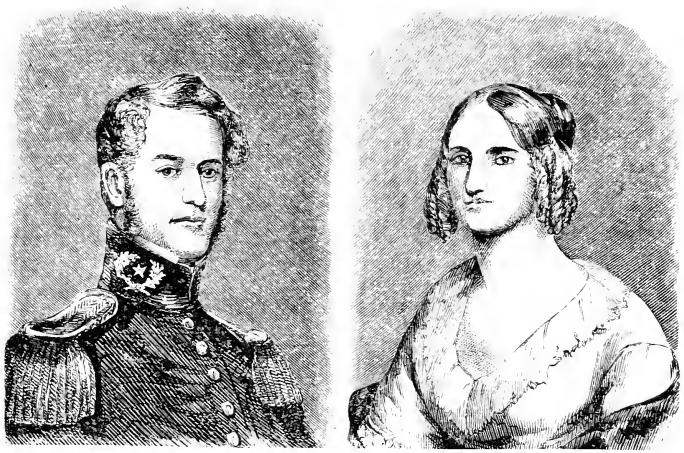
In 1825, when he was eighteen years of age, he entered the Military Academy at West Point, where he remained four years, graduating in 1829.

From the first, he rose to the head of his class, and retained this "standing" until he left the Academy. During his whole course he never received a "demerit mark" for any breach or neglect of duty.

By his comrades he was held in the highest esteem, and was noted for his studious habits and exemplary conduct. He never drank intoxicating liquor, never used tobacco, or indulged in any of the petty vices to which youth is apt. Indeed, one of those who knew him intimately from his boyhood to his grave, declared that he never knew him

"to utter an immoral or profane word, and never saw him taste a drop of intoxicating drink."

Upon leaving West Point, Robert E. Lee received the appointment of Second Lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers, to which branch of the service the most distinguished graduates are assigned. After a short furlough he entered upon the duties of his profession, and was first ordered to Cockspur Island, near Savannah. In 1831, Lieutenant Lee married Mary, daughter and heiress of Washington Parke Custis, and grand-daughter of the wife of General Washington. By this marriage the young officer became a frequent resident of Arlington House.



LIEUTENANT AND MRS. LEE, AT THE TIME OF THEIR MARRIAGE.

This fine mansion stands upon the Virginia Heights, opposite Washington City, overlooking the Potomac, and was for many years an object of attraction to all visitors to Washington on account of its historical associations, and the Washington relics collected and preserved by the patriotic father of Mrs. Lee. Here were to be seen the original

Arlington House.

portraits of General and Mrs. Washington, painted at the time of their marriage, which have been so constantly reproduced. The portrait of Mrs. Washington's first husband, Colonel Parke Custis, of

many of his progenitors, and several pictures of the great Revolutionary battles, painted by Mr. Custis, whose delight it was to perpetuate upon canvas the features of the great man who had been to him a father, and to commemorate the important scenes in which he had been an actor.

Here, also, was the *last* original portrait of General Washington, by Sharpless, a distinguished English artist who painted in crayons. Many of the pictures and much of the old furniture of Mt. Vernon was here; the china presented to Mrs. Washington by certain English merchants, upon which was her monogram; that given to General Washington by the Society of the Cincinnati; the tea-table at which Mrs. Washington always presided; a book-case made by General Washington's own directions; and the bed upon which he died.

Arlington House was surrounded by groves of stately trees, except in front, where the hill descended to a lovely valley spreading away to the river. The view from the height showed Washington, Georgetown, and a long stretch of the Potomac in the foreground, with wooded hills and valleys making a background of dark foliage.

This place, so full of historical association, was to obtain yet further celebrity as the first camping-ground of the "grand army" of the North, upon its entry into Virginia sixty years after Washington's death.

The "White House," on the Pamunkey, the scene of the marriage of General Washington with the "Widow Custis," came also into Lieutenant Lee's family, being bequeathed by the maternal grandfather to the "second son" of this marriage.

This interesting old place was burned by the Federal army in 1862. When forced to leave Arlington, Mrs. Lee, with her family, had taken refuge here: but the White House being found a favorable "base" for the Federal army, the following year, they were obliged to seek a place of greater safety. Before her departure from this her last homestead, Mrs. Lee wrote and affixed to the door of the house the following appeal:

"Northern soldiers who profess to reverence Washington, forbear to desecrate the home of his first married life, the property of his wife, now owned by her descendants.

"A GRAND-DAUGHTER OF MRS. WASHINGTON."

A Northern officer is said to have written beneath this:

"A Northern officer has protected your property, in sight of the enemy, and at the request of your overseer."

The house, however, was burned, either before or during General McClellan's retreat, and "not a blade of grass left to mark the culture of more than a hundred years."

After his marriage, Lieutenant Lee was sent to Old Point, Va., where he remained for three years. In 1835 he was appointed Assistant Astronomer for marking out the boundary line between Ohio and Michigan. The following year he was made First Lieutenant, and in July, 1838, Captain of Engineers.

In 1838–39 he was sent to improve the navigation of the Mississippi at St. Louis, and to open a passage for the river at the Des Moines Rapids. Here he executed one of his greatest feats of engineering.

The following account of his services in the West is given by one of his early friends * in a notice of his death, published in the "Chicago Daily Argus":

"General Gratiot, Chief of the Engineer Corps, on the recommendation of Generals Jones and Dodge, of Iowa, placed R. E. Lee in charge of the improvements of the rapids of the Mississippi River. His exhibition of skill as an engineer and reliable manager made for him thousands of admirers and friends on the Upper and Lower Mississippi, and secured for him the confidence and consideration of his superior officers."

"In 1838–39 there was a serious alarm and real danger of the Mississippi River cutting a channel on the Illinois side, by which St. Louis would have become a 'deserted village,' when the talent and skill of R. E. Lee were sought and obtained. He conceived and executed a plan which saved St. Louis from destruction as a commercial city."

*Captain May, of Illinois.

While the work was in progress, the people of Missouri clamored and criticised and predicted failure. Unmoved by public opinion, he went on steadily — and succeeded.

Free from the egotism and vanity of other men, modest yet firm, he reasoned out his plans, and then never swerved from the proper line of execution. This firmness and confidence came from thinking of things and principles — not of other men and their opinions.

It was while upon this duty that the following letter was written to Mrs. Lee, which shows him most amiably in the tender relation of husband and father.

"LOUISVILLE, June 5th, 1839.

"MY DEAREST MARY: — I arrived here last night, and before going out this morning will inform you of my well-doing thus far.

"After leaving Stanton, I got on very well, but did not reach Guyandotte till Sunday afternoon, where before alighting from the stage I espied a boat descending the river in which I took passage to Cincinnati.

. . . . . .

"You do not know how much I have missed you and the children, my dear Mary. To be alone in a crowd is very solitary. In the woods I feel sympathy with the trees and birds in whose company I take delight, but experience no interest in a strange crowd.

"I hope you are all well, and will continue so:

and therefore must again urge upon you to be very prudent and careful of those dear children. If I could only get a squeeze at that little fellow turning up his sweet mouth to 'keese Baba!' You must not let him run wild in my absence, and will have to exercise firm authority over all of them. This will not require severity, or even strictness, but constant attention, and an unwavering course. Mildness and forbearance, tempered by firmness and judgment, will strengthen their affection for you, while it will maintain your control over them."

In 1842 Captain Lee was sent to Fort Hamilton, in New York harbor, and while there, was, in 1844, appointed one of the board of visitors to the West Point Academy.

The following letter, written about this time to one of his children, will show what admirable lessons he was ever ready to impart to them.

"FORT HAMILTON, March 31st, 1846.

"I cannot go to bed, my dear son, without writing you a few lines to thank you for your letter, which gave me great pleasure. I am glad to hear you are well, and hope you are learning to read and write, and that the next letter you will be able to write yourself. I want to see you very much, and to tell you all that has happened since you went away. I do not think I ever told you of a fine boy I heard of in my travels this winter. He lived in the mountains of New Hampshire. He was just

13 years old, the age of Custis. His father was a farmer, and he used to assist him to work on his farm as much as he could. The snow there this winter was deeper than it has been for years, and one day he accompanied his father to the woods to get some wood. They went with their wood-sled, and after cutting a load and loading the sled, this little boy, whose name was Harry, drove it home, while his father cut another load. He had a fine team of horses, and returned very quickly, when he found his father lying prostrate on the frozen snow, under the large limb of a tree he had felled during his absence, which had caught him in its fall, and thrown him to the ground. He was cold and stiff: and little Harry, finding he was not strong enough to relieve him from his position, seized his axe, and cut off the limb, and then rolled it off of him. He then tried to raise him, but his father was dead, and his feeble efforts were all in vain. Although he was out in the far woods by himself, and had never before seen a dead person, he was nothing daunted, but backed his sled close up to his father, and with great labor got his body on it, and placing his head in his lap, drove home to his mother as fast as he could. The efforts of his mother to reanimate him were equally vain with his own, and the sorrowing neighbors came and dug him a grave under the cold snow, and laid him quietly to rest. His mother was greatly distressed at the loss of her husband, but she thanked God, who had given her so good and brave a son.

"You and Custis must take great care of your kind

mother and dear sisters, when your father is dead. To do that, you must learn to be good. Be true, kind, and generous, and pray earnestly to God to enable you to 'keep his commandments, and walk in the same all the days of your life.' Alec and Frank are well, and the former has begun to ride his pony Jim, again. Captain Bennett has bought his little boy a donkey, and as I came home I met him riding, with two large Newfoundland dogs following, one on each side. The dogs were almost as large as the donkey. My horse, Jerry, did not know what to make of them. I go to New York now, on horseback, every day; one day I ride Jerry, and the next Tom, and I think they begin to go better under the saddle than formerly. I hope to come on soon, to see that little baby you have got to show me. You must give her a kiss for me, and one to all the children, and to your mother and grandmother. Good-bye, my dear son.

"Your affectionate father,

"R. E. LEE.

"To WM. H. FITZHUGH LEE,
"Arlington, D. C."

General Lee told an interesting little incident connected with one of his boys (Custis), which we will give here.

When a very little child, his father took him to walk, one winter's day, in the snow, holding him by the hand. Soon the boy dropped behind. Looking over his shoulder, he saw Custis imitating his every movement, with head and shoulders erect,

putting his little feet exactly in his father's foot-prints. "When I saw this," said the General, "I said to myself, 'It behooves me to walk very straight, when this fellow is already following in my tracks.'"

CHAPTER III.

The Mexican War — Letter to his Sons — Vera Cruz — Cerro Gordo — Encomiums of General Scott — Passage of the Pedrigal — Wounded at Chapultepec — Promotion.

LIEUTENANT LEE was now to exchange the quiet and comparative ease of garrison life for the stirring scenes of war. The difficulties with Mexico had culminated in a declaration of hostilities.

Early in 1847, General Scott commenced to collect troops on the Island of Lobos, for an expedition against Vera Cruz. Captain Lee was assigned to the central army in Mexico, as Chief Engineer under General Wool.

The following letter, written at this time to his sons, Custis and W. H. F. Lee, then at Arlington, will be read with interest in this connection:

"SHIP MASSACHUSETTS, OFF LOBOS,
February 27th, 1847.

"MY DEAR BOYS: — I received your letters with the greatest pleasure, and, as I always like to talk

to you both together, I will not separate you in my letters, but write one to you both. I was much gratified to hear of your progress at school, and hope that you will continue to advance, and that I shall have the happiness of finding you much improved in all your studies, on my return. I shall not feel my long separation from you, if I find that my absence has been of no injury to you, and that you have both grown in goodness and knowledge, as well as stature. But ah, how much I will suffer on my return, if the reverse has occurred! You enter into all my thoughts, in all my prayers; and on you, in part, will depend whether I shall be happy or miserable, as you know how much I love you. You must do all in your power to save me pain. You will learn, by my letter to your grandmother, that I have been to Tampico. I saw many things to remind me of you, though that was not necessary to make me wish that you were with me. The river was so calm and beautiful, and the boys were playing about in boats, and swimming their ponies. Then there were troops of donkeys carrying water through the streets. They had a kind of saddle, something like a cart-saddle, though larger, that carried two ten-gallon kegs on each side, which was a load for a donkey. They had no bridles on, but would come along in strings to the river, and, as soon as their kegs were filled, start off again. They were fatter and sleeker than any donkeys I had ever seen before, and seemed to be better cared for. I saw a great many ponies, too. They were larger than those in the upper country, but did not

seem so enduring. I got one to ride around the fortifications. He had a Mexican bit and saddle on, and paced delightfully, but every time my sword struck him on the flanks, would jump, and try to run off. Several of them had been broken to harness by the Americans, and I saw some teams in wagons, driven four-in-hand, well matched, and trotting well. We had a grand parade on General Scott's arrival. The troops were all drawn up on the bank of the river, and fired a salute as he passed them. He landed at the market, where lines of sentinels were placed to keep off the crowd. In front of the landing the artillery was drawn up, which received him in the centre of the column and escorted him through the streets to his lodgings. They had provided a handsome gray horse, richly caparisoned, for him to ride, but he preferred to walk with his staff around him, and a dragoon led the horse behind us. The windows along the streets we passed were crowded with people, and the boys and girls were in great glee — the Governor's Island band playing all the time.

"There were six thousand soldiers in Tampico. Mr. Barry was the Adjutant of the escort. I think you would have enjoyed with me the oranges and sweet potatoes. Major Smith became so fond of the chocolate that I could hardly get him away from the house. We only remained there one day. I have a nice state-room on board this ship. Joe Johnston and myself occupy it, but my poor Joe is so sick all the time, I can do nothing with him. I left Jem to come on with the horses, as I was afraid

they would not be properly cared for. Vessels were expressly fitted up for the horses, and parties of dragoons detailed to take care of them. I had hoped they would reach here by this time, as I wanted to see how they were fixed. I took every precaution for their comfort, provided them with bran, oats, etc., and had slings made to pass under them and attach the coverings above, so that, if in the heavy sea they should slip, or be thrown off their feet, they could not fall. I had to sell my good old horse 'Jim,' as I could not find room for him, or, rather, I did not want to crowd the others. I know I shall want him when I land. Creole was the admiration of every one at Brazos, and they could hardly believe she had carried me so far and looked so well. Jem says there is nothing like her in all the country, and I believe he likes her better than Tom or Jerry.* The sorrel mare did not appear to be so well after I got to the Brazos. I had to put one of the men on her whose horse had given out, and the saddle hurt her back. She had gotten well, however, before I left, and I told Jem to ride her every day. I hope they may both reach the shore again in safety, but I fear they will have a hard time. They will first have to be put aboard a steamboat and carried to the ship that lies about two miles out at sea, then hoisted in, and how we shall get them ashore again I do not know. Probably throw them overboard, and let them swim there. I do not think we shall remain here more than one day longer. General Worth's and

* Two horses that he had at Fort Hamilton.

General Twiggs' divisions have arrived, which include the regulars, and I suppose the volunteers will be coming on every day. We shall probably go on the first (1st) down the coast, select a place for debarkation, and make all the arrangements preparatory for the arrival of the troops. I shall have plenty to do there, and am anxious for the time to come, and hope all may be successful. Tell Rob he must think of me very often, be a good boy, and always love his papa. Take care of Speck * and the colts. Mr. Sedgwick and all the officers send their love to you.

"The ship rolls so that I can scarcely write. You must write to me very often. I am always glad to hear from you. Be sure that I am thinking of you, and that you have the prayers of

"Your affectionate father,

"R. E. Lee.

"For Custis and W. H. F. Lee, Arlington."

On the 9th of March, 1847, the American army landed near Vera Cruz, and the next day began the investment of the city. The work was commenced by General Worth, and was carried on successfully. Batteries with siege and naval guns were erected by the engineers at points commanding the city.

The bombardment began on the 22d of March, and in a few days the city and castle surrendered.

The elder brother of Captain Lee, Lieutenant Sidney Smith Lee, a gallant officer of the United

* A little terrier who was a great pet.

States Navy, served also in the siege of Vera Cruz, commanding a detachment of seamen who were working the guns in the trenches. It was Captain Lee's duty as an engineer to direct the firing.

He has often been heard to relate how he saw his brother's white teeth gleaming through the smoke, and with what anxiety, after the firing of each gun, he would look to find if he was safe.

Captain Lee rendered important services during the siege; and General Scott, quick to appreciate military genius, appointed him to a position upon his personal staff, and always asked his opinion in the council, attaching great importance to it.

In the Life of General Scott, written by himself, he speaks of the services rendered by Captain Lee during this siege, saying: "I am compelled to make special mention of Captain R. E. Lee, Engineer. This officer greatly distinguished himself at the siege of Vera Cruz."

Indeed, the whole of his career in Mexico is marked by the attention he obtained from his veteran commander. There is hardly a despatch in which his name is not honorably mentioned.

At Cerro Gordo, General Scott wrote: "I am compelled to make special mention of Captain R. E. Lee, Engineer. This officer was again indefatigable during these operations in reconnoissances, as daring as laborious, and of the utmost value. Nor was he less conspicuous in planning batteries,

and in conducting columns to their stations under the heavy fire of the enemy."

During one of these reconnoissances, Captain Lee ventured so far from his supporting column (Loring's Rifles), that he found himself right in amongst the enemy. He concealed himself under a fallen tree, near a spring where the Mexicans obtained water. While he lay there, Mexican soldiers passed and repassed over the tree, and even sat down upon it, without discovering him.* He remained until night enabled him to retire in safety.

From Cerro Gordo the army pushed on to the capital. The direct road to the city had been well fortified, but these defences were overcome, and the battles of Contreras, Cherubusco, Molinos del Rey, and Chapultepec, placed the city of Mexico in the hands of the victorious Americans.

In his accounts of these battles, General Scott says: "August 18th, 1847 — A reconnoissance was commenced to the left of San Augustin, first over difficult ground, and further on over the same field of volcanic matter which extends to the mountain.

"The reconnoissance was continued to-day by Captain Lee, assisted by Lieutenants Beauregard and Tower, all of the Engineers, who were joined in the afternoon by Major Smith, of the same corps,

* "I am reserved for some great purpose," said Clive, in his obscure youth, when he escaped wonderfully a great danger.

and other divisions coming up, Pillow was advanced to make a practicable road for heavy artillery, and Twiggs thrown farther in front to cover the operations, for by the partial reconnoissance of yesterday, Captain Lee discovered a large corps of observation in that direction, with a detachment of which, his supports of cavalry and foot, under Captain Kearney and Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, respectively, had a successful skirmish."

The following interesting account of Captain Lee's great achievement, the "Passage of the Pedrigal," is given by a distinguished officer of the United States service.*

"On the 19th of August, 1847, General Scott's headquarters were at San Augustin, a village four or five miles south of Churubusco. The main road running south from the city of Mexico forks at Churubusco, one branch leading to San Augustin; the other, running in a south-westerly direction, passes a little to the east of the village of Contreras, and of a somewhat elevated Plateau about three-quarters of a mile beyond, or *south* of Contreras. The distances from Churubusco to the Plateau, and from the Plateau to San Augustin, are each about equal to that from San Augustin to Churubusco. The triangular space included between the roads, and a ridge of hills south of San Augustin, as the

* When General Scott was asked what was the most daring achievement of the war, he said, "Lee's crossing the Pedrigal;" and General Poinsett, who had seen the Pedrigal, said, "It is true; it is incredible."

third side, is known as the *Pedrigal*. This Pedrigal is a vast surface of volcanic rocks and scoriæ, broken into every possible form, presenting sharp ridges, and deep fissures, exceedingly difficult for the passage, even in the day-time, of infantry, and utterly impassable for artillery, cavalry, or single horsemen. There are occasional intervals, especially near San Augustin, where small fields have been made and tilled, but these little oases grow smaller and more infrequent towards the west, and a mile or two from the Plateau cease altogether, so that the country from above Contreras to the ridge of hills on the south is an almost unbroken field of desolation, such as lava would present when in a state of violent ebullition. Indeed it appears like a sea of such lava suddenly congealed, with here and there clumps of hardy, thorny bushes, and dwarf-trees, which have managed to force an existence from the apparently sterile rock. By taking advantage of the small open spaces, a difficult, crooked, and hardly passable road, not much better than a mule track, had been opened between San Augustin and the Plateau, in front of which it joins the road to the city of Mexico. On the Plateau, General Valencia had intrenched his fine division, about six thousand strong, with twenty-four guns, which completely commanded the approach from San Augustin. A mile or more *north* of Contreras, and the neighboring hamlet of Anselda, and on the main city road, lay General Santa Anna, with a portion of the reserves of the Mexican army.

"On the morning of the 19th, General Scott ordered Pillow's and Twiggs's divisions to move from San Augustin towards the Plateau, the ground having been previously reconnoitred by Captain R. E. Lee, assisted by Lieutenants Beauregard and Tower, of the Engineers. Pillow was directed to work the road with his force, and, if possible, to make it practicable for artillery. Twiggs was thrown in advance to cover the working parties. General Scott, in his official report, written that same day, says:

"'By three o'clock, this afternoon, the advanced divisions came to a point where the new road could only be continued under the direct fire of twenty-two pieces of the enemy's artillery (most of them of large calibre), placed in a strong intrenched camp, to oppose our operations; and surrounded by every advantage of ground, besides immense bodies of cavalry and infantry, hourly reinforced from the city, over an excellent road beyond the volcanic field, and consequently entirely beyond the reach of our cavalry and artillery.

"'Arriving on the ground an hour later, I found that Pillow's and Twiggs's divisions had advanced to dislodge the enemy, picking their way (all officers on foot) along his front, and extending themselves towards the road from the city and the enemy's left. . . . The battle, though mostly stationary, continued to rage with great violence until nightfall.'

"In the meantime, portions of Riley's, Persifer Smith's, Shields's, and Cadwallader's brigades, had made their way across the Pedrigal to Contreras,

whence they watched the approach of the Mexican troops from the city. Captain Lee accompanied these troops, and the nature of the ground can, perhaps, best be understood from the description given of it by one who passed over it at the time.

"He says: 'Late in the morning of the 19th, the brigade to which my regiment was attached (Riley's) was sent out from San Augustin in the direction of Contreras. We soon struck a region over which it was said no horses could go, and *men* only with great difficulty. No road was available, my regiment was in advance, my company leading, and its point of direction was a church-spire near, or at Contreras. Taking the lead, we soon struck the Pedrigal — a field of volcanic rock, like boiling scoriæ suddenly solidified, pathless, precipitous, and generally compelling rapid gait, in order to spring from point to point of rock, on which two feet could not rest, and which cut through our shoes. A fall upon this sharp material would have seriously cut and injured, whilst the effort to climb some of it cut the hands. Such was the general character of the part crossed by my regiment, and I believe by the brigades, though many, not pushing as I did, may have picked out a circuitous and better route. Just before reaching the main road from Contreras to the city of Mexico, we reached a watery ravine, the sides of which were nearly perpendicular, and up which I had to be pushed, and had to pull others. On looking back over this bed of lava or scoriæ, I saw the troops, much scattered, very slowly picking their way, while of my own

company (about eighty or ninety strong) only five men crossed with me, or for some twenty minutes after. With these five I examined the country beyond, and struck upon small guards of a paymaster's park — which, from the character of the country over which we had passed, was deemed perfectly safe from capture. My men gained a paymaster's chest, well filled with bags of silver dollars; the firing and fuss we made frightened the guard, with the belief that the infernals were upon them, and hastened our own men to our support.

" 'Before sundown, all of Riley's, and I believe of Cadwallader's, Smith's, and Pierce's brigades, were over, and by nine o'clock a council of war, presided over by Persifer Smith, and counselled by Captain R. E. Lee, was held at the church. I have always understood that what was devised, and finally decided upon, was advised by Captain Lee — at all events, it was closed by his saying that he desired to return to General Scott, with the determination of General Smith; and as it was late, the decision must be given soon; that General Scott wished him to return in time to give directions for co-operation.

" 'During the council, and for hours after, the rain fell in torrents, and the darkness was intense — one could move only by groping. To illustrate: my company again led to gain the Mexican rear, after nearly two hours of motion, when light broke sufficiently to enable us to see a companion a few feet off; we had moved not four hundred yards, and the only persons present, after a few minutes, were half a dozen officers and one guide.

"'Captain Lee left the council to join General Scott. History gives him the credit of succeeding, but it has always seemed incredible to me, with the distance, the dangers of that Pedrigal to be overcome, amid such darkness and storm, unaccompanied, I believe, by lightning. Scarcely a step could have been taken without fear of death, — but that to him, a true soldier, was the willing risk of duty in such a cause. I would not believe it could have been made — that passage of the Pedrigal — if he had not said he made it.'

"General Scott, in the report from which we have already quoted, says of this same night:

"'It was already dark, and the cold rain had begun to fall in torrents on our unsheltered troops. Wet, hungry, and without the possibility of sleep, all our gallant corps, I learn, are full of confidence, and only wait for the last hour of darkness to gain the positions whence to storm and carry the enemy's works. Of the *seven* officers dispatched since about sundown, from my position opposite to the enemy's centre, and on this side of the field of rocks and lava, to communicate instructions to the hamlet [Contreras], *not one* has succeeded in getting through those difficulties, increased by darkness. They have all returned. But the gallant and indefatigable Captain Lee, of the Engineers, who has been constantly with the operating forces, is just in from Shields, Smith, Cadwallader, &c., to report as above, and to ask that a powerful diversion be made against the centre of the intrenched camp, to-morrow morning.

"'Brigadier-General Twiggs, cut off as above from the part of his division beyond the impracticable ground; and Captain Lee, are gone, under my orders, to collect the forces remaining on this side, with which to make that diversion about five o'clock in the morning.' *

"The troops were collected, the diversion made, and the result of the combined movement, made possible only by Captain Lee's services, was the brilliant victory of Contreras, early on the following morning.

"Subsequently, General Scott, whilst giving testimony before a Court of Inquiry, had occasion to refer to these operations, and he thus speaks of the service rendered on this occasion by Captain Lee:

"'Captain Lee, Engineers, came to me from the hamlet, with a message from Brigadier-General Smith, I think, about the same time [midnight], he having passed over the difficult ground by daylight, found it just possible to return to San Augustin in the dark; *the greatest feat of physical and moral courage performed by any individual, in my knowledge, pending the campaign.*'

"When we remember that Captain Lee left the council-room at Contreras to pass over miles of such ground as we have described, in a pitch-dark night, without light, without a companion or a guide, with the additional danger to those we have named, that, if he wandered but little from his way toward the right, he would fall into the hands of

* Executive Doc., No. 65 (Senate), 30th Congress, 1st Session, p. 73.

Valencia, if to the left, into those of Santa Anna; the risks also of falling in with straggling parties of Mexicans, some of which we have seen here in the Pedrigal: that he had nothing to guide him on his way but the direction of the wind, as it beat the torrents of cold rain upon his face, and perhaps an occasional flash of lightning to give him a momentary glimpse of the country around him: it will be acknowledged that General Scott, considering the object for which this was done, the manner of doing it, and the results, has characterized this deed of devotion by the only terms, exalted as they are, that could appropriately describe it.

"H. J. H."

At Chapultepec Captain Lee was wounded. His skill and bravery had contributed essentially to the great achievement which closed the campaign.

In his official report of this battle, General Scott pays a high compliment to Captain Lee, who was, he declares, "as distinguished for felicitous execution, as for science and daring;" and he says further: "Captain Lee, so constantly distinguished, also bore important orders from me (September 13th), until he fainted from a wound, and the loss of two nights' sleep at the batteries."

Years after, General Scott was heard to declare, "Lee is the greatest military genius in America."

Captain Lee was twice promoted for his services in Mexico. In 1847 he was brevetted Major for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of

Cerro Gordo, and later was made Lieutenant-Colonel by Brevet, for his conduct at Contreras and Cherubusco.

CAPTAIN LEE,
Wounded at Chapultepec.

It has been remarked by many of the officers who served with him in this campaign, that so popular was Robert E. Lee, that no one in the army was jealous of his promotion, but all acknowledged his title to it, and rejoiced in the honors bestowed upon him.

CHAPTER IV.

Close of the War — Stationed near Baltimore — Placed in charge of the Military Academy at West Point — Transferred to the Cavalry — Ordered to Texas — Indian Warfare — Letters to his Family — Hardships of Frontier Service — Return to Arlington.

AT the close of the war, Colonel Lee was appointed member of the Board of Engineers, and stationed at Sollers Point, near Baltimore. Engaged in the construction of Fort Calhoun, he was occupied with that work until made Superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point in 1852. Here he remained three years. During his administration, the course of study was extended to five years, and various improvements were made in the Academy and its surroundings. Colonel Lee built the fine Riding Hall, made the fine road, the wharf, and other improvements.

In 1855, when several new cavalry regiments were organized, he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the second cavalry. This regiment was commanded by Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, and it is remarkable as having given many officers*

* Major William J. Hardee, Major George H. Thomas; Captains Carl Van Dorn, Kirby Smith; Lieutenants Hood, Field, Cosby, Fitzhugh Lee, Johnson, Stoneman, and Palmer,—who all became general officers on the Southern side, except Thomas and the three last-named, who became prominent generals in the Federal army.

of high rank to both sides in the war which has lately terminated, and for having furnished more generals than any regiment of the old army.

For several years it was employed in Texas against the Indians, and Colonel Lee bore an active part in this warfare, greatly distinguishing himself in one of the most desperate battles.

From his own memorandum-book we learn that he "left Alexandria, February 12th, 1856, . . . on my way to rejoin my regiment," &c.

March 1st, 1856. Reached Galveston.

March 6th. Reached San Antonio at five P. M., and took up my quarters with Mrs. P., in the Plaza.

March 7th. Commenced preparations for journey to Fort Mason.

March 21st. Left at ten A. M., for Fort Mason.

March 25th. Arrived at Fort Mason eleven A. M., twenty miles from our camp; reported my arrival to Colonel A. S. Johnston.

March 27th. Received orders from Colonel Johnston to repair to Camp Cooper, and assume command of the first and fifth squadrons of the regiment there stationed.

April 9th, 1856. Reached Camp Cooper, situated in the Camanche Reserve, on the Clear Fork of the Brazos, thirty-five miles from its mouth, about two miles above the Indian Agency.

Lodges of the Indians situated on the left bank

of the river. Catumseh, chief of the tribe, resides on the reserve.

The following letters, written to one of his family at this time, will give some idea of the arduous duty to which he was here assigned, and of his sentiments on points of great interest already beginning to agitate the country:

"Camp Cooper,
"On the Clear Fork of the Brazos,
"12th April, 1856.

". . . . . Colonel Hardee, whom I relieve at this place, goes on Monday to Fort Mason. I am very sorry to part with him. Four companies are stationed here under Captains Van Dorn, Stoneman, O'Hara, and Whiting. We are on the Camanche Reserve, with the Indian camps below us on the river, belonging to Catumseh's band, whom the Government is endeavoring to humanize. It will be up-hill work, I fear. Catumseh has been to see me, and we have had a talk, very tedious on his part, and very sententious on mine. I hailed him as a friend, as long as his conduct and that of his tribe deserved it, but would meet him as an enemy the first moment he failed to keep his word. The rest of the tribe (about a thousand, it is said) live north of us, and are hostile. Yesterday I returned his visit, and remained a short time at his Lodge. He informed me that he had six wives. They are riding in and out of camp all day, their paint and 'ornaments' rendering them more hideous than nature made them, and the whole race is extremely

uninteresting. . . . . We have a nightly serenade from the wolves."

The memorandum-book says:

"On the 13th — assumed command of the post. Reviewed and inspected the command."

On the 28th of July he writes:

"I have just returned from my expedition into the Camanche country; had a long trip of forty days, and traversed the separate columns, 1,600 miles of country. The main column, which I accompanied, travelled eight hundred miles. We visited the head-waters of the Wachita and Brazos rivers, the Double Mountains, and all the branches of the Double Mountain Fork, and in five separate columns (on our return) swept down the valleys of the Coneha, the Colorado, and Red Fork, to the Sausaba country, and Pecan Bayou. We could find no Indians, and all the traces of them were old. The country had been fired in many places, and in some places it was still burning and abandoned. At this season of the year the Indians are generally north of the Arkansas, hunting Buffalo. We came up with a small party, four men and one woman, whom we had traced for nearly two hundred miles. The men were killed, and the woman captured, by the advance, their horses, thirteen in number, and all their property, taken. The woman I have sent to the tribe below us, where her father resides. These were the only Indians seen.

"The weather was intensely hot, and as we had

no tents, we had the full benefit of the sun. The men were generally healthy, though the water was scarce and bad, salt, sweet, bitter, and brackish. I have enjoyed good health."

"CAMP COOPER, August 4th, 1856.

" . . . . I hope your father enjoyed his usual celebration of the 4th of July. My fourth was spent (after a march of thirty miles) on a branch of the Brazos, under my blanket, which was elevated on four sticks driven in the ground — as a sun-shade.

" The sun was fiery hot. The atmosphere like the blast from a hot-air furnace, the water salt; still my feelings for my country were as ardent, my faith in her future as true, and my hopes for her advancement as unabated, as if called forth under more propitious circumstances.

" The weather still continues hot and dry, with no prospect of rain, and our hopes for a few cabbage-plants and roasting ears have passed away.

" We must bear it. The worst is, that the Clear Fork no longer deserves its title, but is converted into fetid stagnant pools. However, we enjoy good health, have plenty of meat and bread, and have great cause for gratitude."

On the 25th of the same month, he writes from Camp Cooper:

" . . . . I shall leave here on the 1st proximo, as before stated, for the Rio Grande, and shall be absent in all probability from two and a half to three months.

"You must write regularly, as usual, and I will do the same by every opportunity. . . .

"I shall have to pass through San Antonio going and returning — will go from here to Fort Mason, pick up Major Thomas and take him travelling with me, and thus shall have a companion all the way, which will be a great comfort to me.

"I received to-day notice (through my spies) that a party of Camanches who have been on a marauding expedition to Mexico, which is a cloak to cover all their thefts and murders, are endeavoring to get around our camp on their way north, and are some fifteen miles below. They have separated into gangs of six, eight, and ten, to escape detection. I am in the act of sending out a company of cavalry to endeavor to catch them, which I hope may be successful. I should go myself but for my forced journey to the Rio Grande, and as I have directed, they must be followed twenty days if not sooner come up with. I might be detained too late should I go.

"These people give a world of trouble to man and horse, and, poor creatures! they are not worth it."

. . . . . .

The memorandum-book next tells us:

"*Sept.* 2*d.* Left Camp Cooper for Ringgold Barracks to attend a court-martial.

Sept. 30*th.* Court adjourned to Fort Brown, Texas.

Nov. 4*th.* Landed at Fort Brown."

Next in date comes a pleasant picture of his peaceful life and pursuits.

"Fort Brown, Texas, December, 1856.

". . . . . The time is approaching, dear M——, when I trust that many of you will be assembled around the family hearth of dear Arlington to celebrate another Christmas. Though absent, my heart will be in the midst of you. I shall enjoy in imagination and memory all that is going on. May nothing occur to mar or cloud the family fireside, and may each one be able to look with pride and pleasure to their deeds of the past year, and with confidence and hope to that in prospect. I can do nothing but love and pray for you all." . . . .

". . . . . I am able to give you but little news, as nothing of interest transpires here, and I rarely see any one outside the garrison. My daily walks are alone, up and down the banks of the river, and my pleasure is derived from my own thoughts and from the sight of the flowers and animals I there meet with. The birds of the Rio Grande form a constant source of interest, and are as numerous as they are beautiful in plumage. I wish I could get for you the roots of some of the luxuriant vines that cover everything, or the seeds of the innumerable flowers.

"We get plenty of papers, but all of old dates. Things seem to be going on as usual in the States. Mr. Buchanan, it appears, is to be our next President. I hope he will be able to extinguish fanaticism North and South, cultivate love for the country and Union, and restore harmony between the different sections. I am anxious to see who will be the Secretary of War." . . . . . .

"FORT BROWN, TEXAS, 27th Dec., 1856.

". . . . . I have just received the Alexandria Gazette from the 20th Nov. to the 18th Dec. inclusive. Besides the usual good reading-matter, I am interested in the relation of local affairs, and infer, from the quiet and ordinary course of events, that all is going on well, especially (I hope) at Arlington.

"The steamer also brought the President's Message, the reports of the various heads of Departments, &c., &c., so that we are assured the government is in operation and the Union in existence. . . . . .

"I was much pleased with the President's Message. His views of the systematic and progressive efforts of certain people at the North to interfere with and change the domestic institutions of the South are truthfully and faithfully expressed. The consequences of their plans and purposes are also clearly set forth. These people must be aware that their object is both unlawful and foreign to them and to their duty, and that this institution for which they are irresponsible and unaccountable, can only be changed by *them* through the agency of a civil and servile war.

"There are few, I believe, in this enlightened age, who will not acknowledge that slavery as an institution is a moral and political evil in any country. It is useless to expatiate on its disadvantages. I think it a greater evil to the white than to the black race. While my feelings are strongly enlisted in behalf of the latter, my sympathies are more strong for

the former. The blacks are immeasurably better off here than in Africa, morally, physically, and socially. The painful discipline they are undergoing is necessary for their further instruction as a race, and I hope will prepare them for better things. How long their servitude may be necessary is known and ordered by a Merciful Providence. Their emancipation will sooner result from the mild and melting influences of Christianity, than from the storms and tempests of fiery controversy. This influence, though slow, is sure. The doctrines and miracles of our Saviour have required nearly two thousand years to convert but a small portion of the human race, and even among Christian nations what gross errors still exist! While we see the course of the *final* abolition of human slavery is still onward, and give it the aid of our prayers, and all justifiable means in our power, we must leave the progress as well as the result in His hands who sees the end; who chooses to work by slow influences; with whom two thousand years are but as a single day. Although the Abolitionist must know this, must know that he has neither the right nor the power of operating, except by moral means, and that to benefit the slave, he must incite angry feelings in the Master; that, although *he* may not approve the mode by which Providence accomplishes its purpose, the result will still be the same, that the reasons he gives for interference in what he has no concern with, holds good with every kind of interference with our neighbor; still I fear he will persevere in his evil course.

" . . . . . Is it not strange that the descendants

of those pilgrim fathers who crossed the Atlantic to preserve their own freedom of opinion have always proved themselves most intolerant of the spiritual liberty of others?

"I hope you all had a joyous Christmas at Arlington, and that it may be long and often repeated. I thought of you and wished to be with you. Mine was gratefully but silently passed. I endeavored to find some presents for the children in the garrison, and succeeded better than I anticipated. The stores were very barren, but by taking them the week beforehand in my daily walks, I picked up something for all. Tell M—— I found a beautiful Dutch doll for little Emma, one of those crying babies that can open and shut its eyes. For two others, handsome French teapots to match their cups. Then with knives and books I satisfied the boys. After this, went to church, then by previous invitation, Major Thomas and I dined with the clergyman, Mr. Passmore, on roast turkey and plum pudding. . . . . God bless you all!

"Yours, R. E. Lee."

"Fort Brown, January, 1857.

". . . . I hear that my young Lieutenants have been very successful during my absence. Captains Bradfute and Johnson, Lieutenants Jenifer and Wetherell, have at different times intercepted marauding parties of Indians, and chastised them severely. Upwards of a dozen in the four encounters were killed, and more wounded, and all their horses, animals, camp-equipage, &c., captured. It is a dis-

tressing state of things that requires the application of such treatment: but it is the only corrective they understand, the only way in which they can be brought to keep within their own limits. Two of our men were killed, shot through the breast with arrows; and three or four wounded."

The next date in the memorandum-book tells us: "*Feb'y 6th*, 1857. Returned to San Antonio. Ordered to another Court Martial at Indianola.

"*March 30th*. Returned to San Antonio.

"*April 18th*. To Camp Cooper."

From the latter port he writes:

"June 22, 1857.

"There is little to relate. The hot weather seems to have set in permanently. The thermometer ranges above 100°; but the sickness among the men is on the decrease, though there has been another death among the children. He was as handsome a little boy as I ever saw — the son of one of our sergeants, about a year old; I was admiring his appearance the day before he was taken ill. Last Thursday his little waxen form was committed to the earth. His father came to me, the tears flowing down his cheeks, and asked me to read the funeral service over his body, which I did at the grave for the second time in my life. I hope I shall not be called on again, for, though I believe it is far better for the child to be called by its Heavenly Creator into His presence in its purity and innocence, unpolluted by sin and uncontaminated by the vices of the world, still it so wrings a parent's heart with

anguish that it is painful to see. Yet I know it was done in mercy to both, mercy to the child, mercy to the parents. The former has been saved from sin and misery here; and the latter have been given a touching appeal and powerful inducement to prepare for hereafter. May it prove effectual, and may they require no further severe admonition.

"May God guard and bless you all!

"Truly and affectionately yours,

"R. E. LEE."

A few days later, June 29th, he says:

". . Since I last wrote (22d June), nothing of consequence has occurred. It was excessively hot yesterday. At 2 P. M. the thermometer stood at 112°. Kept at the Hospital Tent, the coolest place we have. The range of the mercury is recorded every day.

"We had an alarm that a body of Indians were coming down from the North, to attack our camp and the Indians on the reserve. The news was brought by two Camanches. The Indian camp was in great excitement, and they kept their horses saddled all night, but I confess I was incredulous, and went to bed with no expectation of being disturbed; now their apprehensions have subsided."

From the "memorandum" we go on to quote:

"*July 23d.* Express comes from San Antonio, bringing orders for Colonel Johnston to report in person at Washington, and to turn over the command to me, ordering me to San Antonio.

July 27*th.* Arrived at San Antonio.

August 1*st.* Took possession of the house vacated by Colonel Johnston — having taken command of the regiment the 28th October.

October 21*st.* Received telegraphic notice of the death of . . . . . G. W. P. Custis. . . . Relinquished command to Major Thomas, prepared to return home.

November 11*th.* Reached Arlington."

One of the officers who served with him at this time, says, in writing of him: "In Texas, where Colonel Lee succeeded Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston as commandant of the department, he examined everything thoroughly and continuously, until master of every detail, ever too conscientious to act under imperfect knowledge of any subject submitted to him. And with all his stern sense of duty he attracted the love, admiration, and confidence of all. The little children always hailed his approach with glee — his sincerity, kindliness of nature, and cordial manners, attracting their unreserved confidence."

CHAPTER V.

The John Brown War — Return to Texas — Letters to his Family — The gathering Storm — Summoned to Washington — Secession of Virginia — The Sad Alternative — Resigns his Commission — Farewell to General Scott — To his Sister — His Reticence.

IN the autumn of 1859, Colonel Lee was recalled to Washington, and there ordered to take part in the "John Brown War," as it was termed.

In Colonel Lee's "Memorandum-Book" the fact is thus noted:

"17*th Oct.*, 1859. Received orders from the Secretary of War, in person to repair in evening-train to Harper's Ferry.

"Reached Harper's Ferry at 11 P. M. . . . .

"Posted the Marines in the U. S. Armory. . . .

"Waited until daylight, as a number of citizens were held as hostages, whose lives were threatened. Tuesday, about sunrise, with twelve marines under Lieut. Green, broke in the door of the engine-house, secured the insurgents, and released the prisoners unhurt. All the insurgents killed or mortally wounded, but four, John Brown, Stevens, Coppie, and Shields."

John Brown, who had obtained great notoriety in the troubles in Kansas between the Pro-slavery

and the Anti-slavery parties, came to Virginia to excite an insurrection among the slaves, thinking, with the aid promised him from Canada and elsewhere, to destroy that institution throughout the South.

With sixteen whites and five negroes he seized the Government armory, arsenal, and rifle-factory at Harper's Ferry, and threw the inhabitants of the town and country into the greatest consternation.

The news spread over the country, greatly exaggerated; and the Government took immediate measures to suppress the insurrection. General Scott being absent from Washington, the Secretary of War sent for Colonel Lee, as the most trusted officer of the army, who was dispatched with a battalion of marines to Harper's Ferry, where already the militia of the neighboring counties had assembled.

The insurgents had taken prisoner some of the principal citizens, and with them had retired to the "engine-house" in the armory yard.

Colonel Lee surrounded the building with his marines, and sent his aid Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart with a flag of truce, to demand a surrender, promising to protect the insurgents from the violence of the citizens, and to secure them a trial according to law. These terms were refused by Brown, who demanded to be permitted to march out with his men, arms, and prisoners, to be allowed to go un-

molested as far as the second toll-gate, where he would free his prisoners, and was then willing to fight the troops, if he could not escape from them.

This proposition could not be listened to. Lieutenant Stuart then remonstrated with the insurgents upon the folly of their course. Insensible to his appeals, they announced their determination to kill the hostages, so soon as they were themselves attacked. Among the prisoners was Colonel Lewis Washington, of that neighborhood, whose voice was heard, "Never mind *us* — fire!" Colonel Lee is said to have remarked, upon hearing these words, "The old revolutionary blood does tell."

It had been agreed upon between Colonel Lee and his Lieutenant, that in the event of the insurgents proving inexorable, Lieutenant Stuart should raise his arm as a signal, when the marines would rush upon the door of the engine-house, through which the parleying took place, and by the suddenness of their attack so occupy the insurgents, as to save the lives of the prisoners. This was happily accomplished. The marines captured the building, and the hostages were released from their perilous position unharmed. Several of the insurgents were wounded, among them Brown himself. But for the precautions of Colonel Lee, there is no doubt that these men would have experienced hard treatment at the hands of the excited citizens.

He at once telegraphed to Washington for in-

structions, and was directed to deliver his prisoners to the District Attorney for the District of Columbia.

From the memorandum-book we learn:

"*February 9th*, 1860. Received general orders, No. 2, from the Headquarters of the Army assigning me to duty according to my Brevet rank, and directing me to assume the command of the Department of Texas.

February 10th. At six A. M., left Arlington, &c.

February 19th. Reached San Antonio, and took lodgings with Mrs. P., in the Plaza.

February 20th. Assumed command of Department of Texas.

March 15th. Finished arrangements preparatory to departure to Rio Grande. Left San Antonio at noon, and encamped on the Medina.

March 16th. Continued my route; report having reached me that Cortinas * was ascending the Rio Grande; altered my march, &c.

March 20th. Could get no account of Cortinas's whereabouts, or learn that he had ever ascended the Rio Grande, higher than La Mesa, &c.; resumed march, &c.

March 31st. Reached Ringgold Barracks.

April 3d. Followed the river-road to Brownsville. . . . . .

April 10th. Resumed journey; nearly all the

* Cortinas was a notorious brigand.

ranches on the road have been burned. Those spared by Cortinas, burned by the Rangers, &c.

April 11th. Resumed journey; reached the scene of Cortinas's defeat by Major Heintzelman. . . . . Reached Fort Brown, A. M."

The following letter, of date May 2d, Fort Brown, gives a more particular account of his movements:

"When I last wrote, dear M——, I thought I should have been on my way to San Antonio, indeed had prepared to leave some days ago, wagons were greased, mules foraged, and men provisioned; but the day before I was to have started, rumors came that Cortinas had returned to the vicinity of the Rio Grande, and yesterday the report was so straight that I laid a plan to take him by surprise; have sent two detachments across the river to attempt it. . . . If he should give us the slip, or should the report prove a false alarm, I will commence my journey to San Antonio, and leave the troops to watch and punish him if possible."

The journal resumes:

"*May 7th.* Have been engaged corresponding with the Mexican authorities; succeed in getting them to issue orders for the arrest of Cortinas. . . . He has left the frontier and withdrawn to the Ceritos with his property, horses, &c.

May 8th. Commenced my journey to San Antonio.

May 17th. Reached San Antonio — distance 264 miles.

December 19th. Left for headquarters of my regiment. . . . . .

December 22d. Reached Ft. Mason."

In a letter written at this time he says:

"I am far from comfortable in my present situation, though I feel that I have more than I deserve. My present position being but accidental, I have not thought it best to incur the expense of establishing myself, and am therefore boarding."

"FORT MASON, TEXAS, 23d January, 1861.

"I received Everett's 'Life of Washington,' which you sent me, and enjoyed its perusal. How his spirit would be grieved could he see the wreck of his mighty labors. I will not, however, permit myself to believe, until all the ground for hope is gone, that the fruit of his noble deeds will be destroyed, and that his precious advice and virtuous example will so soon be forgotten by his countrymen. As far as I can judge by the papers, we are between a state of anarchy and civil war. May God avert both of these evils from us! I fear that mankind for years will not be sufficiently christianized to bear the absence of restraint and force. I see that four States have declared themselves out of the Union: four more will apparently follow their example. Then, if the border States are brought into the gulf of revolution, one half of the country will be arrayed against the other. I must try and be patient and await the end, for I can do nothing to hasten or retard it." . . . . . .

The last entries made in this memorandum-book are as follows:

"*February* 13*th*. 1861. Relinquished command of the regiment, Second Cavalry, and in compliance with Department Special Orders No. 16. took my departure from Fort Mason and commenced my journey to Washington City, to report to the Commander-in-chief.

16*th*. Reached San Antonio. . . . .

22*d*. Arrived at Indianola. . . . .

25*th*. Reached New Orleans.

March 1*st*. Arrived in Alexandria: took a carriage and reached Arlington."

We have seen with what interest and apprehension Colonel Lee, from his remote post in northwestern Texas, noted the approaching storm, but took no part in the agitations which excited the country.

The election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency by the Republican or Anti-slavery party, alarmed the South, and early in 1861, seven of the Southern States withdrew from the Union and formed a new confederacy, which was termed the "Confederate States of America."

For a long time, Virginia clung to the Union, exhausting every means in her power to preserve peace: but finding that troops were to be sent to compel obedience, and being directed to furnish her quota of these troops, she took sides with the South, and in this course was followed by others of the slaveholding "Border States."

At this crisis, the men of each section who had been scattered abroad, engaged in different occupations, rushed to the old homes where had been left family and friends. Southern men who had lived happily a lifetime in the North, hurried back to the place of their birth, and Northern men dwelling South felt the same devotion prompting them to side with *their* section in the approaching conflict.

To none did this separation bring so painful a struggle between inclination and duty, as to the officers of the army and navy, and to no individual a greater struggle than to Colonel Lee. "For more than a quarter of a century he had served with distinction in the Federal Army, in which, in the opinion of both the army and the country, he held only the second position." * He was expected by all to be the successor to General Scott, and was bound to him by the strongest ties of affection and respect. If he remained in the Federal Army, the highest honors awaited him. The President of the United States sent one of his Cabinet to offer him the command of the army,† and General Scott used all his great influence to induce him to remain.

On the 18th of April, Colonel Lee was summoned to Washington by President Lincoln, when his interview with Mr. Blair took place. He then bade farewell to his old commander, who was much

* *Lee and his Campaigns.*

† Statement of Hon. Montgomery Blair.

affected, and who parted from him with the words, "Lee, you have made the greatest mistake of your life; but I feared it would be so."

Colonel Lee's feelings are best explained by himself in the following letter to General Scott, which accompanied his resignation as an officer in the United States Army:

"ARLINGTON, VA., April 20th, 1861.

"GENERAL: — Since my interview with you on the 18th inst., I have felt that I ought not to retain my commission in the army. I therefore tender my resignation, which I request you will recommend for acceptance. It would have been presented at once but for the struggle it has cost me to separate myself from a service to which I have devoted all the best years of my life, and all the ability I possessed.

"During the whole of that time, more than a quarter of a century, I have experienced nothing but kindness from my Superiors, and the most cordial friendship from my comrades. To no one, General, have I been as much indebted as to yourself for uniform kindness and consideration; and it has always been my ardent desire to merit your approbation. I shall carry to the grave the most grateful recollections of your kind consideration; and your name and fame will always be dear to me.

"Save in defence of my native State, I never desire again to draw my sword. Be pleased to accept my most earnest wishes for the continuance of your

happiness and prosperity, and believe me most truly yours, R. E. Lee.

"Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott,
Commanding United States Army."

A copy of the preceding letter was enclosed in the following one to his sister, Mrs. A. M., of Baltimore.

"Arlington, Va., April 20th, 1861.

"My dear Sister: — I am grieved at my inability to see you. . . . . I have been waiting for a 'more convenient season,' which has brought to many before me deep and lasting regret. Now we are in a state of war which will yield to nothing. The whole South is in a state of revolution, into which Virginia, after a long struggle, has been drawn; and though I recognize no necessity for this state of things, and would have forborne and pleaded to the end for redress of grievances, real or supposed, yet, in my own person, I had to meet the question whether I should take part against my native State.

"With all my devotion to the Union, and the feeling of loyalty and duty of an American citizen, I have not been able to make up my mind to raise my hand against my relatives, my children, my home. I have, therefore, resigned my commission in the army, and, save in defence of my native State, with the sincere hope that my poor services may never be needed, I hope I may never be called on to draw my sword. I know you will blame me; but you must think as kindly of me as you can,

and believe that I have endeavored to do what I thought right. To show you the feeling and struggle it has cost me, I send a copy of my letter of resignation. I have no time for more. . . . . May God guard and protect you and yours, and shower upon you everlasting blessings, is the prayer of your devoted brother, R. E. Lee."

In the meantime, Virginia had passed her ordinance of secession, April 17th, 1861; but, from circumstances well known at the time, the fact was concealed for some days. Before the decision of his State was known to him, on Monday the 22d, Colonel Lee sent in his resignation. A deputation came to invite him to take command of the State forces, and on the same day he left the home he was never again to see, and repaired to Richmond.

Great must have been the sense of duty, and sublime the struggle, which resulted in this decision. Not only did he sacrifice honors and distinction, his private fortune, the military associations, which were so dear to him, but he knew that suffering and privation were before him, that the name of traitor would be applied to him by the Government he had served so well, and that he would lose many of the best friends of his early life and manhood. Whenever a man acts conscientiously, from a sincere conviction of duty, a just world gives credit for his motives, and describes his conduct as generous and noble, whatever may have

been the error of his decision. Judged even by this rule, Colonel Lee's adhesion to his native State, on her declaration of war, was a noble action, because it could not have been determined by any other consideration than that of duty, and sacrificed to that sense the meaner questions of fortune.*

He has been charged with having influenced other Southern men to leave the United States Army, but nothing can be further from the truth than this assertion. One of his old comrades in the United States service writes: "Immediately upon the election of Mr. Lincoln, I wrote in the confidence of our long friendship, to ask his advice, and to inquire what would be his course, without eliciting any reply, and we all remarked, that, great as we had ever found his reticence in expressing himself upon all matters connected with the Government, and punctilious as had been his observance of every duty connected with his commission, it was even more noticeable at this crisis."

In the address delivered in Richmond, November 3d, 1870, by Mr. Jefferson Davis, he mentions an incident which further illustrates the extreme delicacy and nice sense of honor which distinguished Robert E. Lee. Mr. Davis says: "While stationed in Baltimore as captain of engineers, the Cuban Junta selected Captain Lee to be their leader in the struggle for the independence of their native coun-

* *Lee and his Lieutenants.*

try. They were anxious to secure his services, and offered him every temptation that ambition could desire. He thought the matter over, and came to Washington to consult me as to what he should do; and when I began to discuss the complications which might arise from his acceptance of the trust, he gently rebuked me, saying that this was not the line upon which he wished my advice; the simple question was 'whether it was *right* or not'? He had been educated by the United States, and felt it wrong to accept a place in the army of a foreign power. But when Virginia withdrew, the State to which he owed his first and last allegiance, the same nice sense of honor led him to draw his sword and throw it in the scale for good or for evil."

CHAPTER VI.

Lee in Richmond — Appointed Commander-in Chief of the Virginia Forces — Presented to the Virginia Convention — Address of President Janney — Organization of an Army — Appointed General in the Confederate Service — Ordered to Western Virginia.

GREAT joy was felt in Richmond when it was known that Colonel Lee had given his name and military talents to the cause of Virginia. Immediately upon his arrival, the Governor nominated him as Major-General, with the command of the forces already organized in Virginia, and the State Convention unanimously confirmed the nomination.

Gen. Lee Received by the Virginia Convention.

On the 23d of April, General Lee was presented to the Convention by the chairman of the Military committee. The ceremony took place in the main hall of the capitol. The hall was crowded with

an audience eager to see the man to whom Virginia had thus intrusted her destinies. All the members of the Convention rose as he advanced to the centre of the main aisle.

The president of the Convention, Mr. Janney, then addressed the new Commander-in-Chief, Major-General Lee.

"In the name of the people of our native State, here represented, I bid you a cordial and heart-felt welcome to this hall, in which we may almost hear the echoes of the voices of the statesmen, the soldiers, and sages of by-gone days, who have borne your name, and whose blood now flows in your veins.

"We met in the month of February last, charged with the solemn duty of protecting the rights, the honor, and the interests of the people of this Commonwealth.

"We differed for a time as to the best means of accomplishing that object, but there never was, at any moment, a shade of difference among us as to the great object itself; and now, Virginia having taken her position, so far as the power of this Convention extends, we stand animated by one impulse, governed by one desire and one determination, and that is, that she shall be defended, and that no spot of her soil shall be polluted by the foot of an invader.

"When the necessity became apparent of having a leader for our forces, all hearts and all eyes, by the impulse of an instinct, which is a surer guide

than reason itself, turned to the old county of Westmoreland. We knew how prolific she had been in other days of heroes and statesmen. We knew she had given birth to the father of his country, to Richard Henry Lee, to Monroe, and last, though not least, to your own gallant father, and we knew well, by your deeds, that her productive power was not yet exhausted.

"Sir, we watched with the most profound and intense interest the triumphal march of the army led by General Scott, to which you were attached, from Vera Cruz to the capital of Mexico. We read of the sanguinary conflicts, and the blood-stained fields, in all of which victory perched upon our own banners. We knew of the unfading lustre that was shed upon the American arms by that campaign, and we know, also, what your modesty has always disclaimed, that no small share of the glory of those achievements was due to your valor and your military genius.

"Sir, one of the proudest recollections of my life will be the honor that I yesterday had of submitting to this body the confirmation of the nomination, made by the Governor of this State, of you as Commander-in-Chief of the military and naval forces of this Commonwealth. I rose to put the question; and when I asked if this body would advise and consent to that appointment, there rushed from the hearts to the tongues of all the members an affirmative response, which told, with an emphasis that could leave no doubt, of the feeling whence it emanated. I put the negative of the

question for form's sake, but there was an unbroken silence.

"Sir, we have by this unanimous vote expressed our convictions that you are at this day, among the living citizens of Virginia, 'first in war.' We pray to God most fervently that you may so conduct the operations committed to your charge that it may soon be said of you that you are 'first in peace;' and when that time comes, you will have earned the still prouder distinction of being 'first in the hearts of your countrymen.'

"Yesterday, your mother, Virginia, placed her sword in your hand, upon the implied condition, that we know you will keep to the letter and in spirit, that you will draw it only in defence, and that you will fall with it in your hand rather than the object for which it was placed there shall fail."

To this, General Lee made this short and simple reply:

"Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention: Profoundly impressed with the solemnity of the occasion, for which I must say I was not prepared, I accept the position assigned me by your partiality. I would have much preferred your choice had fallen upon an abler man. Trusting in Almighty God, an approving conscience, and the aid of my fellow-citizens, I devote myself to the service of my native State, in whose behalf alone will I ever again draw my sword."

General Lee was at this time in the prime and

vigor of manhood,*— his figure finely shaped and firmly knit, his face of remarkable beauty, and lighted by dark eyes, as expressive of intellect as of gentleness and benignity. No one could look upon him without admiration, — no one know him without loving and respecting him.

His manners were graceful, and habitually grave and dignified, though on proper occasions kind and even playful. His modesty was always conspicuous, yet there shone about him a just consciousness of power, purpose, and position.

General Lee at once set himself to work to organize the State forces, and to put the country in a condition of defence.

Each day brought men from every part of Virginia, and from the different States of the South.†

About thirty thousand men were, in the early part of May, collected in Virginia. To organize and distribute these wherever the movements of the enemy might demand their presence, was the weighty task of the new commander.

He performed an incredible amount of labor, looking into the most minute details, and, as one of his biographers says, "made the reputation of a

* He was fifty-three years of age.

† The nucleus of that army, which, a celebrated Northern historian says, "stimulated by State pride and home love, which, in addition to the Confederate sentiment, animated those vast quotas of admirable soldiers whom Virginia poured forth unstintingly, filling up the gaps till all were gone."

skilful organizer of armies before he commenced the career of active commander in the field."

After the assembling of the Confederate Congress in Richmond, July, 1861, General Lee was made a full General in the Confederate service, ranking next to General Albert Sydney Johnston; the list being, — Cooper, Albert Sydney Johnston, Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, and Beauregard. In the following month, he was ordered to take command of the forces in Western Virginia, a difficult and disagreeable field of service, which he cheerfully undertook, in accordance with the feeling which influenced him when he declared, "I am ready to take any position the country assigns to me, and do the best I can."

This was the secret of his successes: he always did "his best," thinking nothing which he undertook too small to be done faithfully.

CHAPTER VII.

Gloucester Point — Great Bethel — Manassas — Letter to his Family — Campaign in Western Virginia — Causes of Failure — His Magnanimous Silence — Services on the Sea-Coast — Letters to his Daughters — Assigned to Duty at the Seat of Government.

BEFORE entering upon the account of General Lee's campaign in Western Virginia, a brief survey of the progress of the war in other parts of the State will be necessary. It has been remarked upon as a curious coincidence that almost the first gun fired in Virginia, was at Gloucester Point, opposite Yorktown, which is memorable as the spot where the war of the Revolution ended.

The first real engagement took place at Great Bethel, on the 10th of June. The Confederate troops, consisting of eighteen hundred infantry and six pieces of artillery, under Colonel Magruder, successfully opposed a Federal force of about four thousand men, with powerful artillery, under General Butler.

The former occupied an imperfectly intrenched position, between Yorktown and Hampton, and the Federal forces advanced upon them from Fortress Monroe. This battle, though insignificant as regards the number of troops engaged, was of great importance to the Confederates, as in case of defeat

a way would have been opened to Richmond over the Peninsula. It was also a source of great encouragement to the South, as it showed the possibility of coping successfully with unequal numbers, a disadvantage that from the great strength of the North they had always reason to expect.

Soon followed the greater victory at Manassas, where the main body of both armies was massed, in the latter part of July. The "Grand Army" was completely routed, and panic and confusion marked its disorderly retreat to the sheltering banks of the Potomac. It was a moment of supreme joy and triumph to the South, and proved to the world her determination and her prowess. It was a victory gained over fifty-five thousand by an army not much over thirty-one thousand, which, as one of the Northern historians * candidly admits, was "inferior in arms, equipments, and means of transportation."

Here it was that Jackson's command won its name of the "Stonewall Brigade." The determined stand of his two thousand men turned the fortunes of the day. Bee, approaching Jackson and pointing to the remnants of his command and the shattered remains of Barton and Evans huddled together in the woods, exclaimed: "General, they are beating us back." "Sir, we 'll give them the bayonet," replied Jackson; and Bee, rushing back

* Swinton.

to his troops, rallied them with the words: "There is Jackson, *standing like a stone wall;* let us determine to die here, and we will conquer." And Bee fell mortally wounded, holding in his hand the sword which South Carolina had presented him.

General Lee thus writes of this victory to one of his family:

"RICHMOND, 27th July, 1861.

"I have received, dear M——, your letter from E—— View, and am glad your visit has been so agreeable. . . . . That indeed was a glorious victory, and has lightened the pressure upon our front amazingly. Do not grieve for the brave dead. Sorrow for those they left behind, friends, relatives, and families. The former are at rest, the latter must suffer. The battle will be repeated there in greater force. I hope God will again smile upon us, and strengthen our hearts and arms.

"I wished to partake in the former struggle, but the President thought it more important I should be here. I could not have done as well, but could have helped, and taken part in the struggle for my home and neighborhood. So the work is done, I care not by whom it is done. I leave to-morrow for the new army. I wished to go before, as I wrote you, and was all prepared, but the indications were so evident of the coming battle, and in the uncertainty of the result the President forbade my departure. Now it is necessary, and he consents. I inclose a letter from M——. Write to her if you can, and thank her, for I have not time. Every moment

is occupied, and all my thoughts and strength are given to the cause to which my life, be it long or short, will be devoted."

Already in Western Virginia, on the 3d of June, a small force of seven hundred men, under Colonel Porterfield, sent out by General Lee, had suffered a repulse at Philippi, a prelude to the disaster soon to follow.

General Lee immediately sent a reinforcement of about 6,000 men, under General Garnet, who had served as his Adjutant-General during the first weeks of the war. This little band was forced to contend against fourfold numbers. On the 11th of July, having unfortunately divided, Colonel John Pegram, the second in command, holding Rich Mountain, and General Garnet with the main force remaining at Laurel Hill, they were attacked by two columns of the enemy. After a vigorous defence, Colonel Pegram fell back from Rich Mountain, losing many of his men, who fell into the hands of the enemy.

General Garnet, attempting also to fall back after hearing of this reverse, was pursued by McClellan, and while gallantly striving to rally his rear guard, was killed. Five hundred of his men were taken prisoners.

At this crisis, General Lee went to take command of the remnant of Garnet's army.

A series of skirmishes took place during the

months of August and September, with no important result.

In one of these, Colonel John A. Washington, of Mount Vernon, was killed. He was acting as General Lee's Aid-de-camp, and venturing incautiously in advance of the column, was shot, and, falling from his horse, died instantly.

Finally, General Lee united with his own the forces of Generals Floyd and Wise in the Kanawha Valley, and concentrated at Sewell Mountain an army of 15,000 men.

It was hoped that a battle would now take place to bring to a successful issue this desultory and inactive campaign. But after nearly two weeks had elapsed, during which each waited for the other to attack, it was discovered, one morning, that Rosecrans had disappeared, retreating to his former position on Gauley River. The state of the roads and streams made it impossible for General Lee to follow him with any hope of an active pursuit. Winter was coming on, and it was decided to leave this part of the country in the hands of the enemy, and remove the forces to another and more important field.

General Lee returned to Richmond in November, and the failure of this campaign was the occasion of severe comment by the over-sanguine Southerners.

Like Washington, before Boston in 1776, he

might have said, "I know the unhappy predicament I stand in. I know that much is expected of me;" but, like Washington, he was ready to sacrifice his reputation rather than waste the lives of his men in the vain attempt to hold a hostile country.

When we take into consideration the obstacles against which he contended, the hostile character of the inhabitants, who betrayed his every movement to the enemy, the difficulties of transportation in so rough a country, — having no access to a railroad or navigable river, while the enemy had two railroads uniting at Grafton, enabling them to advance or retreat with equal facility, — we are at no loss to account for this failure.

"He came back," says Mr. Davis, "carrying the heavy weight of defeat, and unappreciated by the people whom he served; for they could not know, as I knew, that if his plans and orders had been carried out, the result would have been victory rather than retreat. They did not know it; for I would not have known it, if he had not breathed it in my ear only at my earnest request, and begging that nothing be said about it. The clamor which then arose followed him when he went to South Carolina, so that it became necessary to write a letter to the Governor of that State, telling him what manner of man he was. Yet through all this, with a magnanimity rarely equalled, he stood in silence, without defending himself, or allowing

others to defend him; for he was unwilling to offend any one who was wearing a sword and striking blows for the Confederacy."

General Lee was now put in charge of the coast defences of Georgia and South Carolina. His duty consisted in superintending the construction of fortifications for the important defence of the coast line. His work was admirably performed, and in this department he won new popularity and esteem.

From the coast he thus writes to one of his daughters:

"COOSAWHATCHIE, S. C., 25th December, 1861.

"MY DEAR DAUGHTER:—Having distributed such poor Christmas gifts as I had to those around me, I have been looking for something for you. Trifles even are hard to get these war times, and you must not therefore expect more. I have sent you what I thought most useful in your separation from me, and hope it will be of some service. Though stigmatized as 'vile dross,' it has never been a drug with me. That you may never want for it, restrict your wants to your necessities. To compensate for such 'trash,' I send you some sweet violets, that I gathered for you this morning while covered with dense white frost, whose crystals glittered in the bright sun like diamonds, and formed a brooch of rare beauty and sweetness which could not be fabricated by the expenditure of a world of

money. Yet how little will it purchase. But see how God provides for our pleasure in every way. May he guard and preserve you for me, my dear daughter. Among the calamities of war, the hardest to bear, perhaps, is the separation of families and friends. Yet all must be endured to accomplish our independence, and maintain our self-government. In my absence from you, I have thought of you very often, and regretted I could do nothing for your comfort. Your old home, if not destroyed by our enemies, has been so desecrated that I cannot bear to think of it. I should have preferred it to have been wiped from the earth, its beautiful hill sunk, and its sacred trees buried, rather than to have been degraded by the presence of those who revel in the ill they do for their own selfish purposes. You see what a poor sinner I am, and how unworthy to possess what was given me; for that reason it has been taken away. I pray for a better spirit, and that the hearts of our enemies may be changed. In your houseless condition, I hope you make yourself contented and useful. Occupy yourself in aiding those more helpless than yourself. . . . . Think always of your father, R. E. LEE."

A letter to another daughter on attaining her sixteenth birthday, breathes the same tender and affectionate spirit.

"SAVANNAH, 26th February, 1862.

"And are you really sweet sixteen? That is charming, and I want to see you more than ever.

But when that will be, my darling child, I have no idea. I hope after the war is over we may again all be united, and I may have some pleasant years with my dear children, that they may cheer the remnant of my days. I am very glad to hear that you are progressing so well in your studies, and that your reports are so favorable. Your mother wrote me about them. You must continue to do likewise to the end of the session, when I hope you will be able to join your mother. It has been a long time since I have seen you, and you must have grown a great deal. Rob says he is told that you are a young woman. I have grown so old, and become so changed, that you would not know me. But I love you just as much as ever, and you know how great a love that is. You must remember me to the P——s, your cousin M——, Mrs. B——, the C——s, &c., and tell them how obliged I am for their kindness to you. I hope you appreciate it, and that your manners and conduct are so well regulated as to make your presence and company agreeable to them.

"I hope you will be admired and loved by all my friends, and acquire the friendship of all the good and virtuous.

"I am glad S—— agrees with you so well. You know it is considered vulgar for young ladies to eat, which I suppose is the cause of your abstinence. But do not carry it too far, for you know I do not admire young women who are too thin.

"Who is so imprudent in Clarke as to get married? I did not think in these days of serious

occurrences that any one would engage in such trivial amusements.

"This is a serious period, indeed, and the time looks dark, but it will brighten again, and I hope a kind Providence will yet smile upon us, and give us freedom and independence.

"These reverses were necessary to make us brace ourselves for the work before us. We were getting careless and confident, and required correction. You must do all you can for our dear country. Pray for the aid of our Father in heaven, for our suffering soldiers and their distressed families. I pray day and night for you. May Almighty God guide, guard, and protect you! I have but little time to write, my dear daughter. You must excuse my short and dull letters. Write me when you can, and love always your devoted father,

"R. E. LEE."

It was finally decided to recall General Lee to Richmond, with the new appointment of Commanding General, to take in charge the entire military preparations of the country.

The following order assigned him to this duty:

"WAR DEPARTMENT,
Adjutant and Inspector General's Office,
RICHMOND, March 13th, 1862.

"GENERAL ORDERS, No. 14.

"General Robert E. Lee is assigned to duty at the seat of government, and, under the direction of

the President, is charged with the conduct of military operations in the armies of the Confederacy.

"By command of the Secretary of War,
S. Cooper,
Adjutant and Inspector General."

General Lee entered immediately upon these duties, but was only retained in this position a few months,—a new and more active field awaited him.

While in Richmond he worked day and night upon the tasks assigned him, and the lines about Richmond showed the effect of his immense labor—earth-works rose on every side, crowning her seven hills. Batteries, rifle-pits, redoubts, &c., were to be seen in every direction; the military situation soon assumed a better aspect.

General Lee's modesty, always conspicuous, seemed to increase with every step he made to power and responsibility, while the courtesy and simplicity which marked his intercourse with strangers, as with officials, won for him the affection which he well deserved.

CHAPTER VIII.

Reorganization of the Army — The Peninsular Campaign — Battle of Seven Pines — Johnston Wounded — General Lee takes Command — Jackson's Valley Campaign — "Stuart's Ride" — General Orders — Jackson's Mysterious March — Mechanicsville.

THE affairs of the Confederacy, at this period, were not in as favorable a condition as might have been expected, in view of the fact that the Southern army had just gained the splendid victory of Manassas. Victory had been in a measure disastrous, as it inspired an undue confidence. It was believed by the flushed and victorious Southrons that a recognition of the Confederate States by the European Powers was certain, and a speedy peace at hand.

While the active spirit of the North multiplied its armies, and brought out its wonderful resources, the South indulged in dreams of confidence, and the three-months' men went home to repose upon their laurels.

The reorganization of the army in December, 1861, was conducted in such a manner as to weaken rather than increase its efficiency. Congress had passed an act by which the men could change from one arm of the service to another at their own option, and also elect their own officers.

The soldiers claimed, too, their right to leave the army at the expiration of the one year for which they had enlisted.

It was then found necessary to pass the Conscription Act, which rigorous measure, though causing great discontent, had the desired effect of placing the army in a more favorable condition to meet the enemy.

It was felt that in Virginia the decisive struggle would take place. The Border States of Kentucky and Missouri had resisted gallantly at first, but being without effectual means of defence, were gradually occupied by the Federal troops. New Orleans had fallen, and the whole of the coast, pressed by the Federal fleet, without ships, and with but few forts to oppose them, was slowly yielding to the enemy's attacks.

A large army commanded by General McClellan, who had won great reputation from his successes in Western Virginia, threatened Richmond. The armies of Fremont, Banks, and McDowell were marching from the North and West upon the capital — in all not less than 200,000 men.

General Joseph E. Johnston, who in March had evacuated Manassas, going to the aid of Magruder, on the Peninsula, now commanded the Confederate forces defending Richmond.

On the last day of May, he advanced upon the Federal lines, intrenched on the Chickahominy,

and a furious struggle ensued. This engagement was known as the battle of *Seven Pines*. McClellan was forced to fall back, and the Confederates remained in possession of the enemy's works. A Federal soldier, writing to a Northern paper, says of the Confederate troops: "Our shot tore their ranks wide open, and shattered them asunder in a manner that was frightful to witness; but they closed up at once, and came on *as steadily as English veterans*."

On the left, at Fair Oaks Station, the Confederates in turn were repulsed; and here General Johnston was severely wounded by a fragment of shell. General Lee was immediately sent from Richmond to take command of his army. Jackson in the meanwhile was about to bring to a successful close his famous valley campaign, and thus relieve Richmond of any danger from that quarter. The three Northern generals who opposed him, Fremont, Banks, and McDowell, were either routed or rendered powerless.

The victory of Port Republic on the 9th of June, one of the most brilliant of the war, enabled Jackson to march his army on to a junction with Lee, and become his "right arm," as he called him, in his future campaigns.

Before commencing the battles of the Seven Days, General Lee, in order to learn something more definite of the position and strength of his

opponents, ordered General Stuart to undertake a reconnoissance in the rear of the enemy's lines.

On the 12th of June, Stuart made his famous "ride around McClellan," with a force of 1,500 men, officered by Colonels William H. Lee, Fitz Hugh Lee, Lieutenant-Colonel Martin, Captain Latané, and other officers afterwards to become known to fame. He gained most important information, took many prisoners, and inflicted damage to the amount of seven millions of dollars; and all this with the loss of but one man, the gallant Captain Latané. This has been truly considered "one of the most brilliant feats ever performed by any cavalry."

The following general order was issued upon the return of Stuart's forces:

"Headquarters Department of Northern Virginia,
June 23d, 1862.

"General Orders, No. 74.

"The General commanding announces with great satisfaction to the army the brilliant exploit of Brigadier-General J. E. B. Stuart, with a part of the troops under his command. This gallant officer, with portions of the First, Fourth, and Ninth Virginia Cavalry, a part of the Jeff. Davis Legion, with whom were the Boykin Rangers, and a section of the Stuart horse-artillery, on the 13th, 14th, and 15th of June, made a reconnoissance between the Pamunkey and the Chickahominy rivers, and succeeded

in passing around the rear of the whole Federal army, routing the enemy in a series of skirmishes, taking a number of prisoners, and destroying and capturing stores to a large amount. Having most successfully accomplished the object of the expedition, he recrossed the Chickahominy almost in the presence of the enemy, with the same coolness and address that marked every step of his progress, and with the loss of but one man, the lamented Captain Latané, of the Ninth Virginia Cavalry, who fell bravely leading a successful charge against a superior force of the enemy.

"In announcing this signal success to the army, the General commanding takes great pleasure in expressing his admiration of the courage and skill so conspicuously exhibited throughout by the general and the officers and men under his command.

"In addition to the officers honorably mentioned in the report of the expedition, the conduct of the following privates has received the special commendation of their commanders: Privates Thomas D. Clapp, Company D, First Virginia Cavalry, and J. S. Mosby,* serving with the same regiment; Privates Ashton, Brent, R. Herring, F. Herring, and F. Coleman, Company E, Ninth Virginia Cavalry.

"By command of General Lee,

R. H. CHILTON, A. A. General."

On the morning of the 26th of June, General Lee was prepared for a general advance. His orders

* This private, J. S. Mosby, was afterwards to become famous as Colonel Mosby, the partisan leader.

for the attack are given to show with what precision they were carried out in the conduct of the battle that followed.

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
June 24th, 1862.

"GENERAL ORDERS No. 75.

"I. General Jackson's command will proceed to-morrow from Ashland towards the Slash Church, and encamp at some convenient point west of the Central Railroad. Branch's Brigade, of A. P. Hill's division, will also, to-morrow evening, take position on the Chickahominy, near Half Sink. At three o'clock on Thursday morning, 26th instant, General Jackson will advance on the road leading to Pale Green Church, communicating his march to General Branch, who will immediately cross the Chickahominy, and take the road leading to Mechanicsville. As soon as the movements of these columns are discovered, General A. P. Hill, with the rest of his division, will cross the Chickahominy near Meadow Bridge, and move direct upon Mechanicsville. To aid his advance, the heavy batteries on the Chickahominy will, at the proper time, open upon the batteries at Mechanicsville. The enemy being driven from Mechanicsville, and the passage across the bridge opened, General Longstreet, with his division and that of General D. H. Hill, will cross the Chickahominy at or near that point; and General D. H. Hill moving to the support of General Jackson, and General Longstreet supporting General A. P. Hill, the four divisions keeping in communication

with each other, and moving in *échelon* on separate roads, if practicable. The left division in advance, with skirmishers and sharpshooters extending in their front, will sweep down the Chickahominy and endeavor to drive the enemy from his position above New Bridge, General Jackson, bearing well to his left, turning Beaver Dam Creek, and taking the direction toward Cold Harbor. They will then press forward toward York River Railroad, closing upon the enemy's rear and forcing him down the Chickahominy. Any advance of the enemy toward Richmond will be prevented by vigorously following his rear, crippling and arresting his progress.

"II. The divisions under Generals Huger and Magruder will hold their positions in front of the enemy against attack, and make such demonstrations, Thursday, as to discover his operations. Should opportunity offer, the feint will be converted into a real attack; and should an abandonment of his intrenchments by the enemy be discovered, he will be closely pursued.

"III. The Third Virginia Cavalry will observe the Charles City road. The Fifth Virginia, the First North Carolina, and the Hampton Legion Cavalry, will observe the Darbytown, Varina, and Osborne roads. Should a movement of the enemy, down the Chickahominy, be discovered, they will close upon his flank and endeavor to arrest his march.

"IV. General Stuart, with the First, Fourth, and Ninth Virginia Cavalry, the cavalry of Cobb's Legion and the Jeff Davis Legion, will cross the Chickahominy to-morrow, and take position to the

left of General Jackson's line of march. The main body will be held in reserve, with scouts well extended to the front and left. General Stuart will keep General Jackson informed of the movements of the enemy on his left, and will co-operate with him in his advance. The Sixteenth Virginia Cavalry, Colonel Davis, will remain on the Nine Mile road.

"V. General Ransom's brigade, of General Holmes's command, will be placed in reserve on the Williamsburg road by General Huger, to whom he will report for orders.

"VI. Commanders of divisions will cause their commands to be provided with three days' cooked rations. The necessary ambulances and ordnance trains will be ready to accompany the divisions, and receive orders from their respective commanders. Officers in charge of all trains will invariably remain with them. Batteries and wagons will keep on the right of the road. The Chief Engineer, Major Stevens, will assign engineer officers to each division, whose duty it will be to make provision for overcoming all difficulties to the progress of the troops. The staff departments will give the necessary instructions to facilitate the movements herein directed.

"By command of General Lee,

R. H. Chilton,
A. A. General."

General Lee wrote to the Secretary of War, saying that he might be beyond a certain designated

point where couriers could find him should "anything of importance occur." This was the only hint given of what he was about to do: so careful was he lest news of the intended movement should reach the enemy beforehand. Thus practising the maxim of his great Lieutenant, who often said, "mystery is the secret of success," and who had given practical illustration of its truth.

According to General Lee's instructions, Jackson with his whole command had marched secretly from the Valley, moving so rapidly, that, leaving Port Republic on the 17th, he reached Ashland on the 25th. This was effected with such skill, that neither General McClellan nor any of the Federal commanders in the Valley suspected the movement. General Lee only waited for Jackson's arrival. Being delayed longer than was expected, General A. P. Hill's impatience could not be restrained. General Lee gave the order to commence, and General Hill left his camps and moved on to Mechanicsville, where the Federals were intrenched, guarding the bridge. General Hill attacked with his usual impetuosity; Fields's brigade, with Pegram's Battery, after a sharp encounter, drove the enemy from Mechanicsville, thus opening the way for Longstreet and D. H. Hill to cross. But the principal strength of the Federals was massed a mile back of the town, at Beaver Dam Creek. Here Hill's forces encountered a most destructive fire, directly in the

face and on the flank. The troops, after several attempts to dislodge the enemy, were forced to withdraw. The battle lasted from three in the afternoon till nine at night. The Confederates slept upon the field which they had won, while Porter's corps, of the United States army, occupied the steep bank of the creek, from which they had successfully resisted the further advance of the Confederates; and thus ended the "battle of Mechanicsville," the first of the "seven days' fight" around Richmond.

CHAPTER IX.

The Eve of Battle — Meeting of Lee and Jackson — Cold Harbor — The Charge of the Texas Brigade — General Lee's Despatch.

ON the morning of the 27th, Jackson's arrival was still anxiously looked for. The great struggle was at hand.

"General Lee having taken up his headquarters at a house on Hogan's plantation, awaited quietly the moment when his word of command would join the most important battle of the war. It was past noon. The columns of Hill and Longstreet halted in the open ground to await the arrival of Jackson's right at New Cold Harbor. General Lee, quiet and serious, sat alone in the rear portico of Hogan's

house. A crowd of military dignitaries were gathered in council upon the front door-steps and on the grassy sward. A low and eager conversation was kept up among them, while the great commander sat alone in thoughtful attitude, his fine, calm, open countenance serious in its expression, but without any line or shadow upon it of weak anxiety or irresolution. Presently a courier dashes up, and delivers a paper to General Lee. As the commander mounts his horse it is understood that Jackson is at hand, and that the time for action has come." *

About noon, A. P. Hill, who was in the advance, reached Cold Harbor, and immediately advanced his division to the attack. In his official report, General Lee states that "many of these men had never been under fire till the previous day;" yet they attacked the enemy in his strong position and drove him from it, though with heavy loss from the fire of McClellan's artillery. The battle raged fiercely with varying fortunes for two hours. General Lee sent Longstreet to make a diversion in favor of the attacking columns, and orders for a general advance were given. At this moment, amid the roar of guns, loud cheers were heard, and the cry of "Jackson! Jackson!" rang along the lines "in a shout so wild and triumphant," says one who was present, "that it rolled across the woods and reached the ears of the Federal army." This soldier, who

* Pollard: *Lost Cause*.

is also a writer, describes* this, the first meeting between Lee and Jackson.

"Jackson was riding a raw-boned sorrel, with his knees drawn up by the short stirrups, his eyes

MEETING BETWEEN LEE AND JACKSON.

peering out from beneath the low rim of his padded cap; there was absolutely nothing about him, save the dingy stars on his collar, to indicate his rank. Lee, on the contrary, was clad in a neat uniform, without decorations, rode an excellent and carefully groomed horse, and every detail of his person, every

* *Hammer and Rapier.*

movement of the erect and graceful figure of the most stately cavalier in the Southern army, revealed his elevated character, the consciousness of command, a species of moral and official 'grandeur,' both of which it was impossible to mistake. The Almighty had made both these human beings truly great; to only one of them had He given the additional grace of looking great.

"'Ah, General!' said Lee, grasping Jackson's hand, 'I am very glad to see you: I hoped to have been with you before.'

"Jackson saluted, and returned the pressure of that hand, of whose owner he said, 'He is a phenomenon; he is the only man I would follow blindfold!'

"General Lee then looked with anxiety in the direction of the firing on the left.

"'That fire is very heavy,' he said, in his deep voice. 'Do you think your men can stand it, General?'

"Jackson turned his head quickly, listened for an instant, and then replied, in the curt tones so familiar to all who knew him:

"'They can stand almost anything, General. They can stand *that!*' Ten minutes after uttering these words, Jackson saluted his commander, put spur to his raw-boned horse, and went at full speed to rejoin his corps, which, in his own words, had 'closed in upon the front and rear of the enemy, and was pressing forward.' Lee remained at the centre. There he was ready to deliver his great blow."

About sunset he ordered an advance along the whole line; and from that moment the battle raged with unsurpassed fury, the enemy making a desperate resistance. Hood's Texans made a bold and impetuous assault upon the fortified crest on the enemy's left, and carried it at the point of the bayonet. Jackson, looking at it afterwards, exclaimed, "The men who carried this position were soldiers indeed!"

Hood's charge is thus described by an eye-witness:

"In front of us was the 'old third brigade,' who, but a few moments before, had started with cheers to storm the fatal palisade. But the storm of iron and lead was too severe; they 'wavered' for a moment, and fell upon the ground. At this instant, General Hood, who had in person taken command of our regiment, commanded, in his clear ringing voice, 'Forward, quick, march!' and onward moved the little band of five hundred, with the coolness of veterans. Here Colonel Marshall fell dead from his horse, pierced by a minie-ball. Volleys of musketry, and showers of grape, canister, and shell, ploughed through us, but were only answered by the stern 'close up — close up to the colors,' and onward they rushed over the dead and dying, without a pause, until within about one hundred yards of the breastworks. We had reached the apex of the hill, and some of the men, seeing the enemy just before them, commenced to discharge their pieces. It was at this point that preceding brigades

had halted, and beyond which none had gone, in consequence of the terrible concentrated fire of the concealed enemy. At this critical juncture the voice of General Hood was heard above the din of battle, 'Forward, forward, charge right down on them, and drive them out with the bayonet!' Fixing bayonets as they moved, they made one grand rush for the fort; down the hill, across the creek and fallen timber, and the next minute saw our battle-flag planted upon the captured breastwork. The enemy, frightened at the rapid approach of pointed steel, rose up from behind their defences, and started up the hill at full speed. One volley was poured into their backs, and it seemed that every ball found a victim, so great was the slaughter. Their works were ours, and as our flag moved from the first to the second tier of defences, a shout arose from the shattered remnant of that regiment, which will long be remembered by those who heard it; a shout which announced that the wall of death was broken, and victory, which had hovered doubtfully for hours over that bloody field, had at length perched upon the battle-flag of the fourth Texas. Right and left it was taken up, and rang along the lines for miles, long after many of those who started it were in eternity."

At dark the remnants of General Porter's command gave way, and the battle of Cold Harbor was over. General McClellan had been driven back to the Chickahominy.

This was one of the most stubborn battles of the

war. The Federal army contested every inch of ground. But their defeat was complete, and was decisive of the campaign.

The losses in this engagement were seven or eight thousand on the Confederate, and six or seven thousand on the Federal side.

"With the transfer of the right wing to the south side of the Chickahominy, the army of the Potomac turned its back upon the Confederate capital, and all the high hopes the advance had inspired. It was no longer a question of taking Richmond, but of making good the retreat to the James, with a victorious enemy in the rear." *

This retreat was accomplished, however, in a manner that reflected honor upon the Federal General and the army under his command.

General Lee announced his victory in the following despatch to the President:

"HEADQUARTERS, June 27th, 1862.

"HIS EXCELLENCY, PRESIDENT DAVIS.

"*Mr. President:*—Profoundly grateful to Almighty God for the signal victory granted to us, it is my pleasing task to announce to you the success achieved by this army to-day.

"The enemy was this morning driven from his strong position behind Beaver Dam Creek, and pursued to that behind Powhite Creek, and, finally, after a severe contest of five hours, entirely repulsed from the field.

* Swinton.

"Night put an end to the contest. I grieve to state that our loss in officers and men is great.

"We sleep on the field, and shall renew the contest in the morning.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

"R. E. LEE, General."

CHAPTER X.

McClellan's Retreat — Savage Station — Frazier's Farm — Malvern Hill — General Order — Results of the Seven Days' Fighting — McClellan's Letter from Harrison's Landing.

THE contest was not renewed the next day. McClellan had withdrawn his weary troops during the night to the south side of the river, moving rapidly to the James. It was General Lee's policy to intercept this march, and capture or destroy the retreating forces. He was however uncertain what McClellan's course would be, in which direction he would make his retreat, whether it would be by the Peninsula, or whether, uniting his forces, he might not turn and give battle on the north side of the river. McClellan's plan, however, was different from either of these. His line of retreat led across the White Oak Swamp, the difficulty of which passage, over roads almost impassable for artillery and wagons, opposed a strong

barrier to the attacks made by the pursuing forces. The darkness also favored McClellan's movements; and so well had he concealed his designs, that it was not until his troops were twenty-four hours on the march that the real state of the case was discovered,—twenty-four hours of immense advantage in the execution of his difficult and dangerous movement.

The next morning General Lee put his columns in motion. Magruder and Huger were to follow on the Williamsburg and Charles City roads, while Longstreet and A. P. Hill were to intercept the retreat near the James.

The divisions of Magruder and McLaws, pushing forward on the Williamsburg road, encountered Sumner's Corps, which constituted the rear-guard of the Federal army, at Savage Station, on the York River. Magruder attacked with his usual promptness. Sumner held his ground until darkness put an end to the contest, and that night he crossed the White Oak Swamp, destroying the bridges behind him. This engagement, fought on the afternoon of the 29th, is known as the Battle of Savage Station.

The retreat of McClellan's army through the wearisome morass, under the scorching June sun, was conducted with a vigor and ability that commanded the admiration of their opponents.

Their sufferings were great, many fell exhausted by the heat and hunger, casting away all save their

arms that could impede their progress, and rising again after a brief uneasy rest to pursue their toilsome march.

The beleaguered city had no longer anything to fear from them, and she owed her great deliverance to the valor and skill of Lee.

At Frazier's Farm another battle was fought by the retreating army, which turned upon its pursuers. Longstreet's Corps, which was in the advance on the right, made the attack with vigor. A. P. Hill held the left. Jackson, having been delayed by the destruction of the bridges at White Oak Swamp, had not yet come up; and Huger, from some cause failing to arrive in time, the Confederates were not strong enough to do more than maintain their front.

"The batteries on the centre and right became the aim of determined assaults, which were repeatedly repulsed, till finally Randall's Battery was captured by a fierce charge made by two regiments, (the Fifty-fifth and Sixtieth Virginia,) advancing in wedge-shape without order, and with trailed arms. Pushing up to the muzzles of the guns, they bayonetted the cannoneers. The greater part of the supporting regiment fled; but those who remained made a savage hand-to-hand and bayonet-fight over the guns, which were finally yielded." *

At length, when General Lee had collected his scattered divisions, McClellan had succeeded in

* Swinton.

making communications with his gun-boats, and was prepared to make a final stand at *Malvern Hill*.

The Federal Army here opposed a solid front to the forces of the Southern General. They held a strong position on the elevated plateau of land, and to reach this front the Confederates were obliged to pass through a broken and swampy country, passable at but few places, and difficult at those.

General D. H. Hill attacked prematurely, and found himself pitted alone against the entire Federal army. Vigorous efforts were made by Magruder, who at length came up with his infantry to take the heights by storm; but his division was broken and beaten back in detail. At nine o'clock the firing ceased; the Confederates "slept on the field within one hundred yards of the enemy's guns," and McClellan withdrew his forces during the night to Harrison's Landing. Although repulsing so stubbornly the attacks of the Confederates, his army had suffered severely, and was no longer able to meet another onslaught.

General Lee thus gives his reasons for not again assaulting the Federal army:

"The Federal commander immediately began to fortify his position, which was one of great natural strength, flanked on each side by a creek, and the approach to his front commanded by the heavy guns of his shipping, in addition to those mounted

in his intrenchments. It was deemed inexpedient to attack him, and in view of the condition of our troops, who had been marching and fighting almost incessantly for seven days under the most trying circumstances, it was determined to withdraw, in order to afford them the repose of which they stood so much in need."

The following general order was issued to the troops on the close of the seven days' battles:

"HEADQUARTERS IN THE FIELD,
July 7, 1862.

"GENERAL ORDER, No. 75.

"The General commanding, profoundly grateful to the Giver of all victory for the signal success with which He has blessed our arms, tenders his warmest thanks and congratulations to the army by whose valor such splendid results have been achieved.

"On Thursday, June 26th, the powerful and thoroughly equipped army of the enemy was intrenched in works vast in extent, and most formidable in character, within sight of our capitol.

"To-day, the remains of that confident and threatening host lie upon the banks of the James River, thirty miles from Richmond, seeking to recover, under the protection of his gun-boats, from the effects of a series of disastrous defeats.

"The battle beginning on the afternoon of the 26th of June, above Mechanicsville, continued until the night of July 1st, with only such intervals as were necessary to pursue and overtake the flying foe. His strong intrenchments and obstinate resistance

were overcome, and our army swept resistlessly down the north side of the Chickahominy, until it reached the rear of the enemy, and broke his communication with the York, capturing or causing the destruction of many valuable stores, and by the decisive battle of Friday forcing the enemy from his line of powerful fortifications on the south side of the Chickahominy, and driving him to a precipitate retreat. This victorious army pursued as rapidly as the obstructions placed by the enemy in his rear would permit, three times overtaking his flying columns, and as often driving him with slaughter from the field, leaving his numerous dead and wounded in our hands in every conflict.

"The immediate fruits of our success are the relief of Richmond from a state of siege, the rout of the great army that so long threatened its safety, many thousand prisoners, including officers of high rank, the capture or destruction of stores to the value of millions, and the acquisition of thousands of arms, and fifty-one pieces of superior artillery.

"The service rendered to the country in this short but eventful period can scarcely be estimated, and the General commanding cannot adequately express his admiration of the courage, endurance, and soldierly conduct of the officers and men engaged.

"These brilliant results have cost us many brave men; but while we mourn the loss of our gallant dead, let us not forget that they died nobly in defence of their country's freedom, and have linked their memory with an event that will live forever in the hearts of a grateful people.

"Soldiers! your country will thank you for the heroic conduct you have displayed — conduct worthy of men engaged in a cause so just and sacred, and deserving a nation's gratitude and praise.

"By command of General Lee,

"R. H. CHILTON, A. A. General."

On the 8th of July, General Lee took his army back to Richmond, where they were received with every demonstration of joy.

Pollard, in his "Memoirs of General Lee," says of these memorable engagements: "Although he had not ascended to the climax of success he had designed, and destroyed McClellan, he had accomplished a great and admirable work with an army the greater portion of which was raw troops."

In his official report, General Lee wrote:

"Under ordinary circumstances, the Federal army should have been destroyed. Its escape is due to the causes already stated. Prominent among them is the want of timely and correct information. This fact, attributable chiefly to the character of the country, enabled General McClellan skilfully to conceal his retreat, and to add much to the obstructions with which nature had beset the way of our pursuing columns.

"Regret that more was not accomplished gives way to gratitude to the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe for the results achieved.

"The siege of Richmond was raised, and the

object of a campaign which had been prosecuted, after months of preparation, at an enormous expenditure of men and money, completely frustrated. More than ten thousand prisoners, including officers of rank, fifty-two pieces of artillery, and upwards of thirty-five thousand stand of small arms, were captured. The stores and supplies of every description which fell into our hands were great in amount and value, but small in comparison with those destroyed by the enemy. His losses in battle exceeded our own, as attested by the thousands of dead and wounded left on every field; while his subsequent inaction shows in what condition the survivors reached the protection to which they fled."

It is due to General Lee's great adversary that every occasion should be taken to place before the public the admirable letter which he addressed at this time to President Lincoln, and which is little known to the Southern people, who, when it was written, were cut off from newspapers, and since the war have had little leisure, little opportunity, and little heart, to read the record of the great struggle.

In this letter General McClellan gives his views (and they were those of a large party in the North) as to how the war should be carried on, and it is said that his removal from the command of the army resulted from the attitude he here assumed.

Immediately upon his removal the Administration organized a policy in great contrast with that of

General McClellan, whose suggestions were characterized by a moderation and wisdom which showed him to be a great statesman as well as a good soldier.

It is remarkable that this letter is dated the 7th of July, after the disasters on the Chickahominy, when he may be supposed to have felt some resentment towards those who had compelled his retreat.

"This rebellion has assumed the character of a war; as such it should be regarded, and it should be conducted upon the highest principles known to Christian civilization. It should not be a war looking to the subjection of any State in any event. It should not be at all a war upon population, but against armed forces and political organization. Neither confiscation of property, political executions, territorial organizations of States, nor forcible abolition of slavery, should be contemplated for a moment. In prosecuting the war, all private property and unarmed persons should be strictly protected, subject only to the necessity of military operations. All private property taken for military use should be paid or receipted for; pillage and waste should be treated as high crimes; all unnecessary trespass sternly prohibited; and offensive demeanor by the military toward citizens promptly rebuked. Military arrests should not be tolerated, except in places where active hostilities exist; and oaths not required by enactments constitutionally made, should be neither demanded nor received. Military government should be confined to the pres-

ervation of public order and the protection of political right. Military power should not be allowed to interfere with the relations of servitude, either by supporting or impairing the authority of the master, except for repressing disorder, as in other cases. Slaves contraband under the Act of Congress, seeking military protection, should receive it. The right of the Government to appropriate permanently to its own service claims to slave labor should be asserted, and the right of the owner to compensation therefor should be recognized.

"This principle might be extended upon grounds of military necessity and security to all the slaves of a particular State, thus working manumission in such State; and in Missouri, perhaps in Western Virginia also, and possibly even in Maryland, the expediency of such a measure is only a question of time.

"A system of policy thus constitutional, and pervaded by the influences of Christianity and freedom, would receive the support of almost all truly loyal men, would deeply impress the rebel masses and all foreign nations, and it might be humbly hoped that it would commend itself to the favor of the Almighty.

"Unless the principles governing the future conduct of our struggle shall be made known and approved, the effort to obtain requisite forces will be almost hopeless. A declaration of radical views, especially upon slavery, will rapidly disintegrate our present armies.

"The policy of the Government must be sup-

ported by concentrations of military power. The national forces should not be dispersed in expeditions, posts of occupation, and numerous armies; but should be mainly collected into masses, and brought to bear upon the armies of the Confederate States. Those armies thoroughly defeated, the political structure which they support would soon cease to exist.

"In carrying out any system of policy which you may form, you will require a commander-in-chief of the army — one who possesses your confidence, understands your views, and who is competent to execute your orders, by directing the military forces of the nation to the accomplishment of the objects by you proposed. I do not ask that place for myself. I am willing to serve you in such positions as you may assign me, and I will do so as faithfully as ever subordinate served superior. I may be on the brink of eternity, and, as I hope forgiveness from my Maker, I have written this letter with sincerity toward you, and from love for my country."

CHAPTER XI.

McClellan's Removal — Pope in Command — His Cruel Orders — General Lee's Remonstrance — Pope's New Art of War — Cedar Run — General Lee's Advance — General Orders — Second Battle of Manassas.

McCLELLAN was soon after recalled to Washington, though he had begged for reinforcements in order to renew the attack by way of Petersburg. This General Lee feared he would do, and it was the movement most likely to accomplish his object, as General Grant afterwards demonstrated.

But the advice of General Halleck prevailed with the War Department at Washington, and a new plan of operations was determined on, which should carry the war into another quarter.

General Pope was put in command of the next "Grand Army." This time the advance was to be made again from the north of Richmond, as it had failed on the south.

General Pope had inaugurated a new system of warfare, very different from the humane and Christian policy of McClellan.

By his orders no private property was secure from spoliation. The troops of his command were allowed to plunder at will. And the lives of the unoffending citizens were no longer safe, it being determined to hold as hostages some of the most

prominent among them. Of these hostages one was to be put to death for every Federal soldier shot by what he termed Confederate "bushwhackers." There was nothing to justify these cruel measures, as the so-called "bushwhackers" were regularly enrolled Confederate Cavalry. He could only have desired to overawe and intimidate the people into submission.

Indignant at these barbarous acts, General Lee, by command of the Confederate authorities, sent the following letter to the United States Secretary of War.

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY of C. S.
"Near Richmond, Va., August 2, 1862.

"To the General commanding the United States Army, Washington.

"GENERAL: — In obedience to the order of his Excellency the President of the Confederate States, I have the honor to make you the following communication:

"On the 22d of July last, a cartel for a general exchange of prisoners was signed by Major-General John A. Dix, on behalf of the United States, and by Major-General D. H. Hill, on the part of this Government. By the terms of that cartel it is stipulated that all prisoners-of-war hereafter taken shall be discharged on parole until exchanged. Scarcely had the cartel been signed, when the military authorities of the United States commenced a practice changing the character of the war, from

such as becomes civilized nations, into a campaign of indiscriminate robbery and murder.

"A general order, issued by Major-General Pope on the 23d of July last, the day after the date of the cartel, directs the murder of our peaceful citizens as spies, if found quietly tilling their farms in his rear, even outside of his lines.

"And one of his Brigadier-Generals, Steinwehr, has seized innocent and peaceful inhabitants, to be held as hostages, to the end that they may be murdered in cold blood if any of his soldiers are killed by some unknown persons, whom he designates as 'bushwhackers.' Some of the military authorities seem to suppose that their end will be better attained by a savage war, in which no quarter is to be given, and no age or sex is to be spared, than by such hostilities as are alone recognized to be lawful in modern times. We find ourselves driven by our enemies by steady progress toward a practice which we abhor, and which we are vainly struggling to avoid.

"Under these circumstances, this Government has issued the accompanying order, which I am directed by the President to transmit to you, recognizing Major-General Pope, and his commissioned officers, to be in the position which they have chosen for themselves — that of robbers and murderers, and not that of public enemies, entitled, if captured, to be treated as prisoners-of-war.

"The President also instructs me to inform you that we renounce our right of retaliation on the innocent, and will continue to treat the private sol-

diers of General Pope's army as prisoners-of-war; but if, after notice to your Government that they confine repressive measures to the punishment of commissioned officers who are willing to participate in these crimes, the savage practices threatened in the orders alluded to be persisted in, we shall reluctantly be forced to the last resort of accepting the war on the terms chosen by our enemies, until the voice of an outraged humanity shall compel a respect for the recognized usages of war. While the President considers that the facts referred to would justify a refusal on our part to execute the cartel by which we have agreed to liberate an excess of prisoners-of-war in our hands, a sacred regard to plighted faith, which shrinks from the semblance of breaking a promise, precludes a resort to such an extremity, nor is it his desire to extend to any other forces of the United States the punishment merited by General Pope, and such commissioned officers as choose to participate in the execution of his infamous order.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"R. E. LEE, General Commanding."

This communication had the desired effect, and the order was afterwards rescinded.

General Pope entered upon his Virginia campaign with the bold determination to see nothing but the "backs of his enemies." He told his troops to "look before and not behind. Success and glory are in the advance; disaster and shame lurk in the

rear." He said to them, "I constantly hear of taking strong positions and holding them, — of lines of retreat and bases of supplies," and bade them "dismiss such ideas;" his headquarters were to be "in the saddle." He had boasted, that, with an army like McClellan's, he saw nothing to prevent his marching from Washington to New Orleans!

The first obstacle that checked his confident career was none other than the formidable "Stonewall."

General Lee had detached this commander from the main army to meet Pope's threatened advance, though still in doubt whether McClellan, who yet remained on the James River, might not from that "base" make another attempt upon Richmond.

Jackson marched towards Culpepper, crossed the Rapidan on the 8th of August, and on the 9th fought Banks's Corps, in the battle of Cedar Run, near Culpepper Court-House. This was followed by the retreat of General Pope to the other side of the Rappahannock.

It was in this engagement, when the fight was fiercest, and the sorely pressed forces of Early began to waver, that Jackson, detaching a portion of A. P. Hill's division that had just been sent to him, threw himself upon the foe in a charge that decided the fate of the day. Again the men cried "Stonewall Jackson! Stonewall Jackson!" in tones of joy and triumph, and the hero himself forgot in

the enthusiasm of the hour, that he was other than a "simple colonel leading his regiment!" The Confederates occupied the field when darkness put an end to the struggle.

General Lee having brought up the remainder of his army, now determined upon a movement that should surprise and confound his adversary, from its very improbability and apparent disregard of the rules of war.

The following are General Lee's orders issued at this time:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
"August 19th, 1862.

"SPECIAL ORDER, No. 185.

"I. General Longstreet's command, constituting the right wing of the army, will cross the Rapidan at Raccoon Ford, and move in the direction of Culpepper Court-House. General Jackson's command, constituting the left wing, will cross at Somerville Ford, and move in the same direction, keeping on the left of General Longstreet. General Anderson's division will cross at Summerville Ford, follow the route of General Jackson, and act in reserve. The battalion of light artillery, under Colonel S. D. Lee, will take the same route. The cavalry under General Stuart will cross at Morton's Ford, pursue the route by Stevensburg to Rappahannock Station, destroy the railroad-bridge, cut the enemy's communications and telegraph-line, and, operating toward Culpepper Court-House, will take position on General Longstreet's right.

"II. The commanders of each wing will designate the reserve for their commands. Medical and ammunition wagons will alone follow the troops across the Rapidan. The baggage and supply trains will be parked under their respective officers, in secure positions on the south side, so as not to embarrass the different roads.

"III. Cooked rations for three days will be carried in the haversacks of the men, and provision must be made for foraging the animals. Straggling from the ranks is strictly prohibited, and commanders will make arrangements to secure and punish the offenders.

"IV. The movements herein directed will commence to-morrow, 20th instant, at dawn of day.

"By command of General R. E. Lee,

"A. P. Mason, A. A. G."

"Headquarters Crenshaw's Farm,
"August 19th, 1862.

"General J. E. B. Stuart, commanding Cavalry.

"General:—I desire you to rest your men to-day, refresh your horses, prepare rations and everything for the march to-morrow. Get what information you can of fords, roads, and position of the enemy, so that your march can be made understandingly and with vigor. I send to you Captain Mason, an experienced bridge-builder, &c., who I think will be able to aid you in the destruction of the bridge. When that is accomplished, or when in train of execution, as circumstances permit, I wish you to operate back toward Culpepper Court-House, creating such confusion and consternation as you can,

without unnecessarily exposing your men, till you feel Longstreet's right. Take position there on his right, and hold yourself in reserve, and act as circumstances may require.

"I wish to know during the day how you proceed in your preparations. They will require the personal attention of all your officers. The last reports from the signal stations yesterday evening were, that the enemy was breaking up his principal encampments and moving in direction of Culpepper Court-House.

"Very respectfully, &c.

"R. E. LEE, General."

Jackson was ordered to put himself in Pope's rear, destroy the supplies at Manassas, where Pope had collected large stores, and then fall back to a junction with Longstreet, who was to march to his aid.

When the news of the destruction of the stores at Manassas reached Pope, he supposed it to have been the work of a mere skirmishing party. Great was his surprise and exultation when he found that General Lee had actually separated his army, and that Jackson was, as it were, already in the lion's jaws. He wrote McDowell to hasten to the spot, declaring "we shall bag the whole crowd." Jackson saw his danger and knew just how to escape it. He lost not a moment at Manassas, but setting fire to the rich spoils that his worn veterans needed so sorely, retreated as swiftly and mysteriously as he

had arrived. When McDowell came up, Jackson was nowhere to be found. One of the Federal officers telegraphed to Washington: "I expect they (the Confederates) know what they are doing, which is more than any one here or anywhere knows."

In the meanwhile Lee was marching rapidly forward with the remainder of his forces. Pope found Jackson at Groveton, where an engagement took place on the 29th. So ignorant was General Pope of the movements of the Confederates, that he was not aware of Longstreet's proximity at all, but thought he had only to do battle against Jackson's twenty thousand.

The great battle was fought on the 30th — to be known in history as the "*Second Battle of Manassas.*" On very nearly the same ground that had witnessed the bloody conflict of '61, the same issue was to be tried over again. Only as regards position, "the opponents had changed sides. Johnston and Beauregard had assailed in old days from the direction of Manassas; it was now Pope who had his base there."

During the first part of the day the artillery principally were engaged; towards evening the infantry came to their aid. Jackson and Longstreet—the one on the left, the other on the right—charged in force. Cooke * says of this battle: "It was one of the most desperate of the war, and one of the blood-

* *Hammer and Rapier.*

iest. The lieutenants of General Pope were abler than their commander. They attacked with a gallantry which more than once threatened to sweep before it the Confederate line of battle; and in charge after charge, in the face of frightful volleys of small arms and artillery, essayed to break through the bristling hedge of bayonets before them." He describes the assault upon the Confederate centre; how charge after charge was made and repulsed; and "then," continues the narrative, "the great field between the adversaries suddenly swarmed with Jackson's men, rushing forward in the wildest disorder, without pretence of a line, and 'every man for himself,' toward the enemy. For a few minutes the field thus presented a spectacle of apparent disorganization, which would have made a European officer tremble. Then suddenly all changed as the men drew near the enemy; they checked their headlong speed; those in front stopped, those in rear closed up; the lines were dressed as straight as an arrow, with the battle-flags rippling as they moved; cheers resounded, and the regiments entered the woods, from which rose the long continuous crash of musketry, as the opposing lines came together."

As the evening wore on, the Confederates were steadily advancing. They had gained another victory on the banks of Bull Run. General Pope was hopelessly routed, and fell back from Manassas

only to retreat in a day or two within the lines at Washington. Seven thousand prisoners were paroled on the field.

Thus ended the third advance upon Richmond. The superior generalship of Lee had once more baffled the schemes of a Federal Lieutenant. The endurance and valor of his men were such as find few parallels in history. General Lee is reported to have said, in allusion to their gaunt and ragged appearance, that there was one occasion when he was never ashamed of them, — "when they were fighting."

The Confederate losses in this campaign amounted in all to nine thousand one hundred and twelve, including four generals who were wounded, Ewell, Taliafero, Field, and Trimble.

The Federal losses greatly exceeded this, amounting to over thirty thousand. They had eight generals killed, and left two thousand wounded in the hands of the Confederates, besides the prisoners paroled or captured. They lost "thirty pieces of artillery, twenty thousand stand of small arms, numerous colors, and a large amount of stores, besides those taken by General Jackson at Manassas."

CHAPTER XII.

Crossing the Potomac — Address to the People of Maryland — Boonsboro Gap — Harper's Ferry.

THE situation was now most favorable to the Confederates. North-eastern Virginia was freed from the occupation of the enemy, and the Federal troops stationed at Winchester had retired to Harper's Ferry.

A Northern correspondent writes from Washington about this time: "After fifteen months of toil and bloodshed, we have now returned to the starting point, and the whole work has to be commenced over again." The Valley of Virginia once more thrown open to the Southern army, afforded valuable resources which had before helped to subsist the enemy.

A candid Northern historian says:

"The success of the campaign had been remarkable. From the front of Richmond the theatre of operations had been transferred to the front of Washington; the Union armies had been reduced to a humiliating defensive, and the rich harvests of the Shenandoah Valley and Northern Virginia were the prize of the victors. To crown and consolidate these conquests, Lee now determined to cross the frontier into Maryland." *

* Swinton.

This movement was greatly favored by the Southern people, who, having experienced the sufferings entailed by the presence of an invading army, were naturally anxious that the North should in turn feel these hardships, and realize the war in another manner than in the money speculations by which many so profited.

It was always part of General Lee's plan to carry the war as far from Richmond as possible; and while his troops were elated by their recent successes, and the forces of Pope were disorganized, it was deemed the fit moment to push forward into their own territory.

"The war was thus transferred," he says, "from the interior to the frontier, and the supplies of rich and productive districts made accessible to our army. To prolong a state of affairs in every way desirable, and not to permit the season for active operations to pass without endeavoring to inflict other injury upon the enemy, the best course appeared to be the transfer of the army into Maryland."

Besides, it was believed at the South that the people of Maryland only awaited the appearance of the Confederates, to rise *en masse* to join them.

Thousands of her youths filled the ranks of the Virginia army, and exiled families were continually coming over the border, with tales of wrong and oppression that called for reparation.

But while the Southern sympathy of the greater portion of her inhabitants was undoubtedly deep and genuine, the Western part of the State, like Western Virginia, held many inimical to the Confederate cause.

It was through this region that General Lee was compelled to pass — a region whose proximity to Pennsylvania, settled, as it was, by the same class of people, made it seem little better than a continuation of that "loyal" district.

It is not probable that the cool and clear-headed commander shared to any great extent the confident hopes of soldiers and citizens as to the result of their mission. He says:

"The condition of things in Maryland 'encouraged the belief that the presence of our army, however inferior to that of the enemy, would induce the Washington Government to retain all its available force to provide for contingencies, which its course toward the people of that State gave it reason to apprehend,' and 'might afford us an opportunity to aid the citizens of Maryland in any efforts they might be disposed to make to recover their liberty.'"

To the sounds of martial music, singing the popular air, "Maryland, my Maryland," the "ragged Rebels" * crossed the river, excited and joyful

* "Thousands," says General Lee, "were destitute of shoes."

at the accomplishment of their long cherished wish. Many were Marylanders, and hailed the redemption of their native State from what they esteemed a hateful bondage. Many Virginians looked for the first time since the beginning of the conflict on the noble stream, which miles away flowed by their lost homesteads. To all alike it was a proud and joyful moment.

The correspondent of a Northern Journal thus wrote of the appearance of these troops:

"I had heard much of the decayed appearance of the Rebel soldiers, but such a looking crowd! Ireland, in her worst straits, could present no parallel, and yet they glory in their shame!"

"Never," says General Jones, who commanded the old Stonewall Division, "had the army been so dirty, ragged, and ill provided for, as on this march."

The most perfect discipline was maintained by the Southern troops. Not a fence was displaced without being paid for. In marked contrast to the course of General Pope, it was strictly enjoined upon the troops to treat all who professed Union sentiments with "kindness and forbearance." *

The passage of the Potomac was made on the 3d

* One of the officers of General Lee's staff gives an amusing story of a "Yankee school-marm" in Hagerstown, who, when the army marched through that place, thinking to insult them, and perhaps bring upon herself that "martyrdom" which it was the constant endeavor of such people to secure, rushed from her house, followed by a train of young girls, planted herself in front

of September, near the mouth of the Monocacy, as the strength of the Federal works at Washington and Alexandria rendered the attempt impracticable further down.

In one of the actions of this campaign, General Lee met with an accident which came near being very serious. He had dismounted, and was holding his horse with the bridle twisted about his arm. The animal, suddenly frightened by the firing, threw his master to the ground, injuring both his hands, the bones of the left one being broken.

Having assembled his army at Frederick, General Lee issued to the people of Maryland the following address.

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
"Near FREDERICK, Sept. 8th, 1862.

"TO THE PEOPLE OF MARYLAND.

"It is right that you should know the purpose that has brought the army under my command

of General Lee, and commenced singing in loud tones, "The Star-spangled Banner."

General Lee, with his usual politeness, lifted his hat to her, and immediately gave orders that no one should speak to or molest the group.

It is related that, foiled in her attempt to make a scene by this display of "patriotism," she retired rather discomfited.

Very different was the feeling elicited by his presence upon a young and beautiful girl, when on a later occasion he passed through the same town.

Standing upon the sidewalk with a group of ladies, collected to see the army pass, she exclaimed, in her enthusiasm, aloud, "Oh what a magnificent man! Why is he not on our side?"

within the limits of your State, so far as that purpose concerns yourselves.

"The people of the Confederate States have long watched with the deepest sympathy the wrongs and outrages that have been inflicted upon the citizens of a Commonwealth allied to the States of the South by the strongest social, political, and commercial ties.

"They have seen with profound indignation their sister State deprived of every right, and reduced to the condition of a conquered province. Under the pretence of supporting the Constitution, but in violation of its most valuable provisions, your citizens have been arrested and imprisoned upon no charge, and contrary to all forms of law. The faithful and manly protest against this outrage, made by the venerable and illustrious Marylanders — to whom in better days no citizen appealed in vain — was treated with contempt and scorn. The government of your chief city has been usurped by armed strangers; your Legislature has been dissolved by the unlawful arrest of its members; freedom of speech and of the press has been suppressed; words have been declared offences by an arbitrary decree of the Federal Executive, and citizens ordered to be tried by military commissions for what they may dare to speak.

"Believing that the people of Maryland possess a spirit too lofty to submit to such a government, the people of the South have long wished to aid you in throwing off this foreign yoke, to enable you again to enjoy the inalienable rights of freemen, and

restore the independence and sovereignty of your State. In obedience to this wish, our army has come among you, and is prepared to assist you with the power of its arms in regaining the rights of which you have been so unjustly despoiled. This, citizens of Maryland, is our mission, so far as you are concerned. No restraint on your free will is intended; no intimidation will be allowed, within the limits of this army at least. Marylanders shall once more enjoy their ancient freedom of thought and speech. We know no enemies among you, and will protect all of you in every opinion. It is for you to decide your destiny, freely and without constraint. This army will respect your choice, whatever it may be; and while the Southern people will rejoice to welcome you to your natural position among them, they will only welcome you when you come in of your own free will.

"R. E. Lee, General Commanding."

Recruiting offices were opened, but few responded to the call. There was little active sympathy expected from those immediately in the Confederate lines, and it was soon clearly perceived that the arm of the Federal power lay too heavily upon the oppressed sections, to allow any hope of a general uprising. With Lee so far on their north-western border, the Federal capital in their midst, and every foot of ground patrolled by Union guards, it might well seem hopeless.

General Lee, in the meanwhile, was preparing

for action. He had supposed Harper's Ferry would have been evacuated, as soon as it was known that the Southern army was in Maryland. Such was manifestly the dictate of military prudence. But disregarding the advice of McClellan, who was once more put in command of the Federal forces, General Halleck ordered the garrison to remain there.

General Lee, to whom its reduction was then a matter of great importance, in order to keep open his communications with the Valley, sent General Jackson forward for this purpose.

This unexpected obstacle caused some delay and change of programme. General McClellan is represented to have been in evident perplexity as to his adversary's movements, when by a singular and unfortunate accident he came into possession of the plan of campaign. An order sent by General Lee to one of his Division commanders had been found on the floor of a house in Frederick. Picked up by a Federal soldier, it was forwarded by him to his Commander-in-Chief, thus affording him the incalculable advantage of knowing beforehand exactly what would be the disposition of the enemy's troops.

Of course, his first object was to send succor to Harper's Ferry.

General Lee, though surprised at his designs being anticipated, lost no time in dispatching D.

H. Hill to dispute with the enemy the passage of Boonsboro Gap, through which McClellan hoped to reach Harper's Ferry and relieve the garrison.

A severe action then ensued at South Mountain, near Boonsboro, which lasted five hours, with heavy loss on both sides. The Confederates held their ground gallantly, and kept the Federal forces in check until General Jackson had completed the reduction of Harper's Ferry. When McClellan succeeded in passing the Gap, it was too late; Jackson, always prompt and energetic, had accomplished his object.

On the 15th of September, Harper's Ferry, with its valuable armory, yielded to the soldiers of "Stonewall." "Eleven thousand troops were surrendered, together with seventy-three pieces of artillery, thirteen thousand stand of arms, two hundred wagons, and a large amount of stores."

McClellan had been foiled in his attempt to cut off Jackson. Already the latter was hastening to unite himself with Lee, leaving General A. P. Hill to settle the terms of the surrender. By the 16th, the Southern forces were again united near the little village of Sharpsburg, which was to give its name to the great battle about to follow.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Battle of Sharpsburg — Recrossing the Potomac — General Lee's Address to his Army — Review of the Campaign — Personal Incidents.

ON the morning of the 17th, "33,000 Confederates were in line of battle to engage a united army which certainly exceeded 100,000 men,* within the limits of the field."

Before sunrise the combat opened. The fiercest fighting was on the left, for here the Confederate army "touched the Potomac," and McClellan's object was to drive them "into the river." The position of Lee is thus briefly described by Cooke,† "His back to Sharpsburg, his left hand touching the Potomac, his right extending into the angle formed by the river and Antietam Creek."

Hooker commenced the assault by a furious attack upon the Confederate left, which was held by Jackson's troops. With his corps of eighteen thousand men he made such havoc with Jackson's four thousand, as to destroy "more than half the brigades forming the first line."

But the Confederates held their ground until

* General McClellan says: "Our forces were total, in action, eighty-seven thousand one hundred and seventy-four."

† *Hammer and Rapier.*

Hooker was reinforced, when they gave way. At this critical moment, portions of McLaws' and Walker's divisions coming to their aid, they threw themselves afresh upon the Federal lines, and compelled them finally to fall back. Jackson drove them half a mile, and then took up his position on the line he had held in the morning.

Though this was considered the most important achievement of the day, on other parts of the field the interest was hardly less great.

Owing to some misunderstanding of orders, General Rodes's brigade was withdrawn from the centre at a time when it was most desirable to keep there a strong force. General D. H. Hill seeing the situation, that there was danger of the army being divided, moved hastily up at the head of two hundred men. A gallant charge was made upon the Federal hosts, who were rapidly filling up the vacant space; a battery of the Washington Artillery was thrown forward; and being nearly disabled, General Longstreet himself worked one of the guns that stood near him. One company of the 27th North Carolina faced the enemy, "standing boldly in line without a cartridge," as General Lee afterwards reported. The Federal advance upon the Confederate centre was checked, and they were compelled to withdraw.

On the right, Burnside was ordered by McClellan to take the bridge over the Antietam, which was

held by General Toombs, of Georgia, with only four hundred and three men. General Toombs, in his report, says: "Though the bridge and upper ford were thus left open to the enemy, such was his extreme caution, that he lost nearly two hours in crossing and getting into action on our side of the river; about which time A. P. Hill's Division arrived from Harper's Ferry." These Georgians five times repelled the charge, until, at length, Burnside, by crossing lower down, gained his object, and Toombs was forced to retire. But Burnside fearing to attempt more, stopped at the bridge, until a peremptory order from McClellan reached him, by which he was directed to take the batteries beyond. These were held by General Jones with a small force. After a brief, though obstinate defence, they were taken by Burnside, but only held a short time, when General A. P. Hill, arriving opportunely from Harper's Ferry, was sent to recover them. This was successfully accomplished, and Burnside driven back to the bridge. A graphic account is given by the correspondent of a Northern paper, of this part of the action, and the importance that attached to Burnside's holding his ground.

McClellan had no fresh troops to send to his aid, when Burnside's messenger rides up. "His message is: 'I want troops and guns. If you do not send them, I cannot hold my position half an hour.'

McClellan's only answer for the moment is a glance at the western sky. Then he turns and speaks very slowly: 'Tell General Burnside *this is the battle of the war*. He *must* hold his ground till dark, at any cost. I will send him Miller's battery. I can do nothing more. *I have no infantry.*' Then, as the messenger was riding away, he called him back. 'Tell him if he *can not* hold his ground, then the bridge to the last man! always the bridge! If the bridge is lost, all is lost.'"

Such was their critical condition in the estimation of the Federal commander.

But the contest was ended. The worn and exhausted veterans of Lee could not pursue their advantage. The bridge on which McClellan had staked all was still his when darkness came down upon the combatants.

This was no Federal victory, as was afterwards claimed, but a drawn battle, which, considering the disparity of numbers, might rather be deemed a triumph for the smaller army.

All the following day Lee remained in line of battle; but no attack was made. At night he withdrew his army, deliberately and without molestation, across the Potomac.

Clearly McClellan was not able to cross swords a second time with the opponent he claimed to have defeated. He says: "The next morning I found that our loss had been so great, and there was so

much disorganization in some of the commands, that I did not consider it proper to renew the attack that day." And the best Northern historian of the war says: "The action at Antietam, though a victory in its results, seeing that it so crippled Lee's force as to put an end to the invasion, was tactically a drawn battle — a battle in which McClellan had suffered as much as he had inflicted."

The expedition into Maryland was over.

That more was not accomplished has been ascribed in part to the diminished numbers of General Lee from "stragglers." We quote from Colonel Cooke the best explanation and apology that could be made for this lamentable fact. When they crossed, "only about one-half" of the Army of Northern Virginia "was at his (Lee's) orders. Nearly half of Lee's army was still limping along, barefooted and exhausted, far in rear, on the Virginia side. Not once, but a hundred times has the statement been made, that these men were stragglers, intending desertion. That statement is an injustice to the brave soldiers of the army. The immense marches and desperate combats of the last month had exhausted them. Barefooted, in rags, unfed, worn out, they dragged their feet along, trying to keep up, and they would have arrived, but for one circumstance. McClellan's rapid advance uncovered the fords near Leesburg; crossing these, the 'stragglers' would have found McClellan,

not Lee. In fact, General Lee issued an order forbidding it, and thus these twenty thousand or more unfortunate, not criminal men, who filled the fields of Loudoun, or crouched on the heights near Leesburg, were pointed at and stigmatized as stragglers."

Many on this toilsome march were made lame for months, others for life.

On his return to Virginia, General Lee wrote the following letter to one of his daughters:

"HEADQUARTERS NEAR MARTINSBURG,
"September 23d, 1862.

"MY DEAR DAUGHTER: — I have received your two last affectionate letters, which have given me great pleasure and comfort. . . . . .

"I am unable to write to you, and have to employ the pen of a friend. The doctors say it will be three or four weeks yet before I will be able to use my own. . . . . .

"I presume the papers give you full accounts of the movements and doings of the army. You know I have but little news ever to tell, and can't keep pace with our letter-writers.

"We had two hard-fought battles in Maryland, and did not consider ourselves beaten, as our enemies supposed. We were greatly outnumbered, and opposed by double (if not treble)* our strength; yet we repulsed all their attacks, held our ground,

* This, with his accustomed desire never to run the *slightest risk* of exaggeration, was marked out evidently with his own lamed hand.

and retired when it suited our convenience. Their loss is said to be very heavy, and their papers report thirteen of their generals killed and wounded at Sharpsburg. Among the former is my old engineer-comrade, General Mansfield. With much love and great affection, your father,

"R. E. LEE."

General Lee sums up the successes of this entire campaign in his address to the troops upon their return from Maryland:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
"October 2, 1862.

"In reviewing the achievements of the army during the present campaign, the Commanding General cannot withhold the expression of his admiration of the indomitable courage it has displayed in battle, and its cheerful endurance of privation and hardships on the march.

"Since your great victories around Richmond, you have defeated the enemy at Cedar Mountain, expelled him from the Rappahannock, and after a conflict of three days, utterly repulsed him on the plains of Manassas, and forced him to take shelter within the fortifications around his capital.

"Without halting for repose, you crossed the Potomac, stormed the heights of Harper's Ferry, made prisoners of more than eleven thousand men, and captured upwards of seventy pieces of artillery, all their small arms, and other munitions of war.

"While one corps of the army was thus engaged, the other insured its success by arresting at Boons-

boro the combined armies of the enemy, advancing under their favorite General to the relief of their beleaguered comrades.

"On the field of Sharpsburg, with less than one-third his numbers, you resisted, from daylight until dark, the whole army of the enemy, and repulsed every attack along his entire front, of more than four miles in extent.

"The whole of the following day you stood prepared to resume the conflict on the same ground, and retired next morning without molestation across the Potomac.

"Two attempts, subsequently made by the enemy, to follow you across the river, have resulted in his complete discomfiture, and being driven back with loss.

"Achievements such as these demanded much valor and patriotism. History records few examples of greater fortitude and endurance than this army has exhibited; and I am commissioned by the President to thank you in the name of the Confederate States for the undying fame you have won for their arms.

"Much as you have done, much more remains to be accomplished. The enemy again threatens us with invasion, and to your tried valor and patriotism the country looks with confidence for deliverance and safety. Your past exploits give assurance that this confidence is not misplaced.*

"R. E. Lee, General Commanding."

* "The moral effect of the campaign which General Lee had now concluded is too large and brilliant to be omitted from any esti-

An officer of General Lee's staff gives us the following interesting incident which occurred at this time:

"General Lee's wonderful forbearance and consideration for others was surprisingly evinced the night following our passage over the Potomac, after the fight at Sharpsburg. In withdrawing from that

mate of results. To the world it was a chapter of wonders. It had accomplished a sum of victories unequalled in the same space of time by anything in the previous or subsequent experience of the war; it had made a record of toils, hardships, and glories famous in history; it had accumulated a brilliant spoil, and the wonderful statement is derived from the books of the Provost-Marshal in Richmond, that, in twelve or fifteen weeks, the Confederates had taken and paroled no less than forty-odd thousand prisoners!" — *Lee and his Lieutenants*, POLLARD.

The same author quotes from the *London Times*, commenting upon these events. "The people of the Confederate States have made themselves famous. If the renown of brilliant courage, stern devotion to a cause, and military achievements almost without a parallel, can compensate men for the toil and privations of the hour, then the countrymen of Lee and Jackson may be consoled amid their sufferings. From all parts of Europe, from their enemies as well as their friends, from those who condemn their acts as well as those who sympathize with them, comes the tribute of admiration. When the history of this war is written, the admiration will doubtless become deeper and stronger, for the veil which has covered the South will be drawn away, and disclose a picture of patriotism, of unanimous self-sacrifice, of wise and firm administration, which we can now only see indistinctly. The details of extraordinary national effort which has led to the repulse and almost to the destruction of an invading force of more than half a million of men, will then become known to the world; and whatever may be the fate of the new nationality, or its subsequent claims to the respect of mankind, it will assuredly begin its career with a reputation for genius and valor which the most famous nations may envy."

field it had been a matter of special gratulation that not the smallest trophy had been left to the enemy.

"To prevent his passage over the river, the Southern heights were crowned with a number of guns, from twenty-five to thirty, supported by infantry. Separated from our wagons, we had spread our blankets under an apple-tree, and retired, supperless, and fatigued with the long day's march towards Winchester.

"About one o'clock in the night, the officer commanding that passage rode up, asked for the General, dismounted and entered into conversation. The first announcement was, that the enemy had taken the heights, and captured ALL of the guns. 'All,' said the General. 'Yes, General, I fear, all.' This announcement lifted me right off my blanket, and I moved away, fearful I might betray my feelings. The General exhibited no temper, made no reproach that I could hear, either then, or even afterwards, when he learned that the gallantry of a subordinate officer had saved the command, and that the commanding officer had been premature in his report.

"This would have been an extraordinary instance of forbearance, even had this calamity been announced whilst he was enjoying comparative ease; but under the physical discomfort of his immediate surroundings, irritating in themselves to a nervous temperament, such as mine, it struck me as truly grand."

It was at Sharpsburg that a spectator describes

General Lee as riding up to the Rockbridge Artillery, which was fiercely engaging the enemy, and greeting his youngest son, Robert, who, begrimed with smoke and dust, was bravely working one of the guns. "How are you, father?" was all that Robert had time to say, and the father replied quietly, "That 's right, my son; drive those people back."

CHAPTER XIV.

Encampment around Winchester — Stuart's Raid into Pennsylvania — The Federal Army in Motion — Removal of McClellan — Burnside in Command — Camp at Fredericksburg — Letter from General Lee to his Daughter — The Bombardment of Fredericksburg — The Battle — General Lee's Despatch.

GREAT was the disappointment at the North when the news of General Lee's safe return to Virginia reached there. McCabe, in his Life of Lee, quotes a passage from the *Tribune*, which explains the general dissatisfaction, and testifies to the success of his prompt and energetic movements.

"He leaves us the débris of his late camps, two disabled pieces of artillery, a few hundred of his stragglers, perhaps two thousand of his wounded, and as many more of his unburied dead. Not a sound fieldpiece, caisson, ambulance, or wagon; not a tent, box of stores, or a pound of ammu-

nition. He takes with him the supplies gathered in Maryland, and the rich spoils of Harper's Ferry."

The army was now to enjoy a month or two of rest, which they sorely needed. Encamped around Winchester, where it was rejoined by the unfortunates left behind on the march into Maryland, who were now fresh and vigorous again, it fully benefited by the unwonted and welcome relaxation.

The Government in the meanwhile took measures to provide for its necessities, in fresh supplies of shoes and clothing.

A letter quoted in the biography just mentioned gives a pleasant picture of their life in camp at this period. It is written by one of Jackson's corps:

"The only 'useful occupation' of this brigade for some time past has been to destroy all the railroads in reach; apparently, too, for no better reason than the fellow had for killing the splendid anaconda in the Museum, because it was his 'rule to kill snakes wherever found.' It is when idle in camp that the soldier is a great institution, yet one that must be seen to be appreciated. Pen cannot fully paint the air of cheerful content, irresponsible loungings, and practical spirit of jesting that 'obtains,' ready to seize on any odd circumstance in its licensed levity. A 'cavalryman' comes rejoicing in immense top boots, for which in fond pride he has invested full forty dollars of pay; at once the cry from a hundred voices follows him along

the line: 'Come up out o' them boots! come out! Too soon to go into winter-quarters! I know you 're in thar! — see your arms sticking out!' A bumpkin rides by in an uncommonly big hat, and is frightened by the shout: 'Come down out o' that hat! come down! 'Tain't no use to say you ain't up there; I see your legs hanging out!' A fancy staff officer was horrified at the irreverent reception of his nicely twisted moustache, as he heard from behind innumerable trees: 'Take them mice out o' your mouth! take 'em out! No use to say they ain't thar! — see their tails hanging out!' Another, sporting immense whiskers, was urged to 'come out of that bunch of har! I know you 're in thar! I see your ears a working!' Sometimes a rousing cheer is heard in the distance — it is explained: 'Boys, look out! Here comes "Old Stonewall," or an old har, one or t'other;' — they being the only individuals who invariably bring down the house.

"But the whole day of camp-life is not yet described: the night remains, and latterly it is no unusual scene, as the gloaming gathers, to see a group quietly collect beneath the dusky shadows of the forest-trees, — 'God's first temples,' — whence soon arise the notes of some familiar hymn, awaking memories of childhood and of home. The youthful chaplain, in earnest tones, tells his holy mission; another hymn is heard, and by the waning light of the pine torches the weird-like figures of the grouped soldiers are seen reverently moving to the night's repose." . . . . .

They had before them exemplars in piety, as in all manly virtues, in their two great leaders, Jackson and Lee.

Only one event of importance occurred at this time. General Lee, in order to learn something of the enemy's movements and strength, ordered General Stuart on a reconnoissance into Maryland and Pennsylvania. This was accomplished early in October, with that officer's accustomed brilliant daring and promptitude. McClellan, becoming aware of his bold attempt, ordered all the fords of the Potomac to be covered, and had troops to intercept him at every point, so that it seemed impossible for him to escape. He returned, however, in safety, after making the circuit from Williamsport — where he crossed over — around through Chambersburg and Gettysburg, to the ford near Poolesville, where he recrossed, having here a slight skirmish with the advance of Stoneman's cavalry, the main body arriving just too late to prevent his escape. He had "marched over eighty miles in twenty-four hours."

In this expedition Stuart gained much valuable information, captured and brought off a number of horses, and only suffered the loss of two or three men missing, who lost their way, and the same number wounded.

McClellan, who had been lingering at Harper's Ferry recruiting his army, now received peremptory

orders to "advance." In the latter part of October he moved across the Potomac. His plan was to march to Warrenton, and, if possible, separate Lee's army, overcoming each portion in turn; or, failing in this, to force him to concentrate as far back as Gordonsville. General Lee, while uncertain as to his antagonist's movements, thought it advisable to remain in the valley while sending Jackson to check his advance.

McClellan had hardly reached Warrenton before he was suddenly, and without warning, recalled from his command, and Burnside put in his place. This conduct on the part of the Federal Government was most fortunate for the Confederates. It removed from the leadership of the opposing forces their ablest general, and, by the delay occasioned, gave General Lee ample time to collect his forces and mature his plans. General Burnside proceeded to alter the organization of his army, and then decided upon a different plan of campaign.

He did not wish to hazard a general engagement, and determined upon marching to Fredericksburg, taking possession of the town and making it his winter-quarters, from whence it would be easy to begin offensive operations in the spring.

General Lee, made aware of the enemy's movements by the vigilance of Stuart's cavalry, sent forward a portion of Longstreet's corps, and occupied the heights of Fredericksburg before Burnside's had moved up.

General Lee followed with the rest of the army. On the 24th of November he writes:

"CAMP NEAR FREDERICKSBURG, Nov. 24, 1862.

"MY DEAR DAUGHTER:—I have just received your letter of the 17th, which has afforded me great gratification. I regretted not finding you in Richmond, and grieve over every opportunity of seeing you that is lost, for I fear they will become less and less frequent.* I am glad however that you have been able to enjoy the society of those who are so well qualified to render you happy, and who are so deservedly loved and admired. The death of my dear A—— was indeed to me a bitter pang. But the Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord. In the quiet hours of night, when there is nothing to lighten the full weight of my grief, I feel as if I should be overwhelmed. I had always counted, if God should spare me a few days of peace after this cruel war was ended, that I should have her with me. But year after year my hopes go out, and I must be resigned. I write with difficulty, and must be brief. F. and R. are near me and well. Nephew F. has laid aside his crutches, and I hope will soon join me. Your mother, I presume, informs you of the best. General Burnside's whole army is apparently opposite Fredericksburg, and stretches from the

* This daughter was then within the enemy's lines, having, by the sudden movements of troops, while visiting relatives in a remote country place, been accidentally cut off from her friends and family, and was for many months debarred from all but a very precarious intercourse with them.

Rappahannock to the Potomac. What his intentions are he has not yet disclosed. I am sorry he is in position to oppose our friends and citizens of the 'Northern Neck.' He threatens to bombard Fredericksburg, and the noble spirit displayed by its citizens, particularly the women and children, has elicited my highest admiration. They have been abandoning their homes night and day during all this inclement weather, cheerfully and uncomplainingly, with only such assistance as our wagons and ambulances could afford. Women, girls, and children, trudging through the mud, and bivouacking in the open fields. . . . . .

"Believe me always, your father,

"R. E. Lee."

The battle of Fredericksburg — one of the bloodiest of the war — soon followed. The Confederates had the advantage of position, and their numbers were twice as great as at Sharpsburg; still the enemy outnumbered them two to one. General Burnside's force, in round numbers, is estimated at a hundred thousand; * General Lee's, at fifty thousand.

It was first necessary to move the Federal host across the Rappahannock. To obstruct this attempt, General Lee had stationed Barksdale's brigade along the Fredericksburg shore; and so effective was their fire, that the pontooneers, after making many efforts to complete their work, were repulsed

*Northern authority.

and forced to fall back. Then, in desperation, the Federal commander gave orders to bombard the city. The murderous fire passed over the heads of the soldiers, who were too near the shore for it to harm them, tore up the streets, churches, and dwelling-houses, driving the defenceless inhabitants to seek refuge in cellars or flee to the open country. An eye-witness says: "Men, women, and children were driven from the town, and hundreds of ladies and children were seen wandering, homeless and without shelter, over the frozen highway, in thin clothing, not knowing where to find a place of refuge."

Finding that the bombardment did not accomplish their object, a detachment of troops was sent over in the face of the Confederate fire. They succeeded in driving the Confederates from their shelter. The work now proceeded; the pontoons were laid, and by the evening of the 12th the whole army was on the other side ready to give battle. General Lee occupied the heights back of the town, a rough and open plain separating the opposing forces. On the right of the Confederate line lay Jackson's corps; to the left, on Marye's Hill — which was to become so famous from this day — were the forces under Longstreet; in the fields on the extreme right, Stuart was stationed with his horse-artillery, the nature of the ground not allowing the use of cavalry. The attack opened upon the

Confederate right. Meade's division was brought up to assail this strong position, and driven back with terrible slaughter. As they advanced, Pelham, the boy-artillerist, whose genius and gallantry were to win for him a name on the roll of Southern heroes, kept them in check for two hours, until his last round was fired. Battery after battery was brought up to silence him; but he stood firmly to his post, while the maimed and dying fell around, until positive orders were sent to him to retire. General Lee, who witnessed this gallant conduct, exclaimed with enthusiasm, "It is glorious to see such courage in one so young!" *

It was of this repulse of Meade by Jackson, in which the former is said to have "lost forty out of every hundred men," that General Lee is reported to have said, as he watched the flying foe, "It is well this is so terrible; we would grow too fond of it!"

Of his own deportment on the field of battle, an English correspondent writes, in reference to this day: "It would be presumptuous in me to say one word in commendation of the serenity, or, if I may so express it, the unconscious dignity of General Lee's courage when he is under fire. No one who sees and knows his demeanor in ordinary life would expect anything else from one so calm, so undemonstrative and unassuming. But the de-

* *Hammer and Rapier.*

scription applied, after the battle of the Alma, to Lord Raglan, by Marshal St. Arnaud, and in which, noticing Lord Raglan's unconsciousness under fire, he speaks of his 'antique heroism,' seems to me so applicable to General Lee that I cannot forbear recalling it here." *

To return to Fredericksburg. After the assault upon Jackson had failed, the whole energy of the Federal commander was directed to the attack upon Longstreet. By *divisions*, six times in succession, the forces of Burnside were hurled upon the bristling front of Marye's Hill, and six times they fell back, shattered and bleeding. Never had the Federal forces fought so gallantly, never had courage and desperation been so hopeless. But Burnside, in the madness of defeat, had vowed that this crest must be carried that night.

Pollard, in his account of this assault, says: "The simile so commonly used in descriptions of battles, of waves breaking upon a rock-bound coast, was never more just in its conception than in the frantic battle in which the Federal divisions were shattered upon the heights assailed, and were hurled back, one after the other, on the crimson tide of death."

The crest was *not* carried when night came, and the battle was over.

The Confederate loss was not much over four

* McCabe's *Life of Lee.*

thousand, while that of the Federals was more than twelve thousand, killed, wounded, and missing. Less than half of the Confederate army had been brought into action.

General Lee sent the following despatch announcing the victory:

"December 13th.

"To General Cooper, A. A. General.

"At nine o'clock this morning the enemy attacked our right wing, and, as the fog lifted, the battle ran along the whole line, from right to left, until six P. M., the enemy being repulsed at all points. Thanks be to God! As usual, we have to mourn the loss of many of our brave men. I expect the battle to be renewed at daylight to-morrow morning. R. E. Lee."

CHAPTER XV.

The Federal Army recrosses the Rappahannock — General Lee's Address to his Army — Winter in Camp — "The Mud March" — Burnside's Resignation — Hooker in Command.

THE next day General Lee anticipated another battle; but the demoralization * of the Federal army was so great that it was not deemed expedient to risk another attack. On the contrary, it was expected that the Confederates would assume the offensive. This was in accordance with General Jackson's views; but General Lee, not realizing that the defeat of the enemy had been so complete, thought it more prudent to await him in their present strong position, rather than expose his troops to the powerful batteries on the Stafford Heights. He says:

"The attack on the 13th had been so easily repulsed, and by so small a part of our army, that it was not supposed the enemy would limit his efforts to one attempt, which, in view of the magnitude of

* "That the *morale* of the Army of the Potomac became seriously impaired after the disaster of Fredericksburg was only too manifest. Indeed it would be impossible to imagine a graver, or gloomier, a more sombre or unmusical body of men than the Army of the Potomac a month after the battle; and as the days went by, despondency, discontent, and all evil inspirations, with their natural consequent desertion, seemed to increase rather than to diminish, until, for the first time, the Army of the Potomac could be said to be really *demoralized*." — *Swinton.*

his preparations and the extent of his force, seemed to be comparatively insignificant. Believing, therefore, that he would attack us, it was not deemed expedient to lose the advantages of our position and expose the troops to the fire of his inaccessible batteries beyond the river, by advancing against him. But we were necessarily ignorant of the extent to which he had suffered, and only became aware of it when, on the evening of the 16th, it was discovered that he had availed himself of the darkness of the night, and the prevalence of a violent storm of wind and rain, to recross the river."

Had he pushed forward, however, there is every reason to suppose that he might have completed the destruction of the invading army. This could not be known then; and his course was, therefore, the wisest and most prudent under the circumstances.

General Burnside desired to make another assault, which he planned to lead in person, in order to retrieve his fame, and restore the waning confidence of his troops. A final attempt to carry Marye's Hill was what he contemplated. But he was deterred, by the advice and remonstrances of all his general officers, from a venture likely to prove as fatal and useless as those that had preceded it.

It became evident that all hostile demonstrations were over for the present, and the army now proceeded to go into winter-quarters.

General Lee issued the following address to his

soldiers at this time, on the subject of their late successes:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
December 31, 1862.

"The General commanding takes this occasion to express to the officers and soldiers of the army his high appreciation of the fortitude, valor, and devotion displayed by them, which, under the blessing of Almighty God, have added the victory of Fredericksburg to their long list of triumphs.

"An arduous march, performed with celerity under many disadvantages, exhibited the discipline and spirit of the troops, and their eagerness to confront the foe.

"The immense army of the enemy completed its preparations for the attack without interruption, and gave battle in its own time and on ground of its own selection.

"It was encountered by less than twenty thousand of this brave army, and its columns, crushed and broken, hurled back at every point, with such fearful slaughter that escape from entire destruction became the boast of those who had advanced in full confidence of victory.

"That this great result was achieved with a loss small in point of numbers only augments the admiration with which the Commanding General regards the prowess of the troops, and increases his gratitude to Him 'who hath given us the victory.'

"The war is not yet ended. The enemy is still numerous and strong, and the country demands of the army a renewal of its heroic efforts in her

behalf. Nobly has it responded to her call in the past, and she will never appeal in vain to its courage and patriotism.

"The signal manifestations of Divine mercy that have distinguished the eventful and glorious campaign of the year just closing, give assurance of hope, that, under the guidance of the same Almighty hand, the coming year will be no less fruitful of events that will insure the safety, peace, and happiness of our beloved country, and add new lustre to the already imperishable name of the Army of Northern Virginia.

"R. E. Lee, General."

The army remained near Fredericksburg during the winter, which was intensely cold. The sufferings of the soldiers were great. General Lee shared the privations of the men, and refused to make his headquarters in a dwelling, though one was near at hand, until after a severe indisposition, when the positive orders of his physician forced him to do so. He is described, by an English gentleman who visited him about this time, as surrounded with none of the pomp and ceremony found in European camps, although always treated with profound respect, and looked upon as the father of his soldiers by those who knew him best. By the men, generally, he was called "Uncle Robert," or "Mass Rob," in the familiar and affectionate language which spoke the devotion of his adoring troops.

Many of the soldiers were again without shoes. General Lee urged upon the Government the necessity of providing them, even if they were forced to seize the stock in the hands of speculators. He also wrote to the Department on the importance of increasing the army. His forces had been much diminished by the call for troops to defend the menaced points on the coasts of North Carolina and Virginia, and at Charleston, which was at that time threatened.

The winter passed away with only one event of interest to mark the vicinity of the enemy. This was what was afterwards known in the annals of the Federal campaign as the "Mud march."

On the 19th of January, the attempt was made to cross the Rappahannock at Banks's ford, above Fredericksburg, in order to make a final effort to drive Lee from his position, and force him to fall back upon Richmond.

In the expectation that the weather, which had up to this time been favorable to their plans, would continue good, Burnside ordered forward Hooker's and Franklin's divisions. On the night of the 20th, however, a storm came up, which left the roads in such condition as to make an advance impossible. Every effort to bring up the pontoons failed; * the

* "Herculean efforts were made to bring pontoons enough into position to build a bridge or two withal. Double and triple teams of horses and mules were harnessed to each boat; but it was in

mud was an adversary not counted upon, and not easily resisted. Even the foot-soldiers could not march through the quagmires; it was found an impossible task. The roads would be impracticable until spring, so the attempt was abandoned.

Baffled and chagrined at this last discomfiture, Burnside ascribed it in part to the delay occasioned by the inimical disposition of his Generals. He returned to Washington, and sent in an order dismissing some eight or nine of the most prominent among

vain. Long stout ropes were then attached to the teams, and a hundred and fifty men put to the task on each. The effort was but little more successful. Floundering through the mire for a few feet, the gang of Liliputians, with their huge-ribbed Gulliver, were forced to give over, breathless. Night arrived, but the pontoons could not be got up, and the enemy's pickets discovering what was going on, jocularly shouted out their intention to 'come over to-morrow and help build the bridges.'

"Morning dawned upon another day of rain and storm. The ground had gone from bad to worse, and now showed such a spectacle as might be presented by the elemental wrecks of another Deluge. An indescribable chaos of pontoons, vehicles, and artillery encumbered all the roads — supply-wagons upset by the roadside, guns stalled in the mud, ammunition-trains mired by the way, and hundreds of horses and mules buried in the liquid muck. The army, in fact, was embargoed: it was no longer a question of how to go forward, it was a question of how to get back. The three days' rations brought on the persons of the men were exhausted, and the supply-trains could not be moved up. To aid the return, all the available force was put to work to corduroy the rotten roads. Next morning the army floundered and staggered back to the old camps, and so ended a movement that will always live in the recollection of the army as the 'Mud march,' and which remains a striking exemplification of the enormous difficulties incident to winter campaigning in Virginia."— *Swinton.*

them, which, in case the President failed to approve, was to be replaced by his own resignation.

Mr. Lincoln accepted the latter alternative, and in place of Burnside, resigned, appointed to take command of the troops the foremost man on the list of those he had designed to disgrace. This was "fighting Joe Hooker," as he was popularly called by his admiring compatriots.

CHAPTER XVI.

Hooker's Campaign — Kelly's Ford — Death of Pelham — The Battle of Chancellorsville — Jackson's Flank Movement in "The Wilderness" — Jackson Wounded.

THE winter passed away in comparative quiet. General Hooker used every exertion to increase and make effective the army under his control. The cavalry was reorganized and made more efficient than it had been since the beginning of the war. His whole force was not less than 150,000 men. He boasted that it was "the finest army on the planet," so well was it equipped and provided.

General Lee's army, on the contrary, was much weakened in numbers, and always but poorly supplied. It had been necessary to send General Longstreet in February to watch the movements of the enemy south of the James River, on the opening

of the spring campaign; therefore General Lee's whole force amounted to but 45,000 men.

In March the enemy commenced active operations by detaching a body of cavalry under Averill to ascertain Lee's strength, and cut off, if possible, his communications with Gordonsville. To meet this reconnoissance, General Stuart sent forward General Fitz-Lee's Brigade, and an engagement took place at *Kelly's Ford*. Averill was obliged to retire and abandon the expedition. Eight hundred men had confronted and driven back three thousand.

Cooke, in his *Hammer and Rapier*, says of this affair: "An eye-witness compared Fitz-Lee's little band to a small bull-dog jumping at the throat of a big mastiff—ever shaken off by his powerful adversary, but ever returning to the struggle, until the larger animal's strength was worn out."

Here fell the "gallant Pelham," while leading a charge, which event will make memorable in Southern annals the name of Kelly's Ford.

Nothing further was attempted until April, when Hooker made arrangements for a general advance. He went forward full of confidence in himself and in his troops, whom he had pronounced vastly superior, intellectually and physically, to the Confederates!

He knew that General Longstreet had been sent off, and was desirous to strike his decisive blow while the Southern forces were thus divided. And

his programme seemed to promise the success he coveted. His plan was to cross the greater part of his troops over the Rappahannock at Kelly's Ford, occupy Chancellorsville, and advance upon Lee from this point. A portion of his command, in the meanwhile — "equal in numbers to General Lee's whole army" — was to take possession of Fredericksburg, and, while Hooker engaged Lee before Chancellorsville, storm Marye's Heights, and, co-operating with Hooker, close in upon Lee from the opposite direction. The cavalry — ten thousand in number — under Stoneman, were to scour the country about Gordonsville, cut off the railroads, and thus prevent Longstreet from coming to Lee's assistance.

The condition of General Lee seemed indeed perilous; but the great leader was equal to the emergency.* General Jackson was first ordered forward to skirmish with the enemy and force him to make a stand as near to Chancellorsville as possible. General Lee had decided to accept the battle just here, as the only means of escaping the "cordon" which surrounded him.

Chancellorsville consists of but a single dwelling-house and a few small buildings beyond it. Between Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, a few

* "Lee, with instant perception of the situation, now seized the masses of his force, and with the grasp of a Titan, swung them into position as a giant might fling a stone from a sling." — *Swinton.*

miles from the latter place, the ground is open and high, and well adapted for the movements of an armed force. In every other direction from Chancellorsville, the "Wilderness"—a region of marshy ground, full of undergrowth and forests of stunted pines — stretched for miles away, a lonely and desolate country, unsuited, apparently, for the purposes of a battle-ground. General Lee recognized the importance of obtaining possession of the elevated ground instead of leaving it for General Hooker, and for this purpose sent General Jackson forward to dispute his advance. Contrary to the remonstrances of his officers, Hooker, upon the approach of the Confederates, fell back, massing his troops at Chancellorsville, where he awaited Lee's attack. His right stretched out towards Orange County, his left was protected by the river.

General Lee, fully aware of the risk attending a direct assault upon the front of the enemy's strongly intrenched position, with his own inferior forces, resolved upon a movement which a great Northern critic calls "astonishingly bold." This was to send General Jackson to make an attack upon Hooker's right from the rear, while he made a feint in front.

"The plan, though full of risk, was immediately adopted by Lee, and as a matter of course, its execution committed to his daring Lieutenant, who was destined in the climax of his power to end his

career in the world and the world's wars in this supreme exhibition of military genius." *

On the 2d of May, General Jackson commenced his silent march, while General Lee made demonstrations upon the enemy's left, disposing his troops so adroitly as to succeed in his purpose of deceiving General Hooker as to a general attack.

Jackson, practising his favorite maxim, "Mystery is the secret of success," had used every precaution to keep the knowledge of his approach from the unsuspecting foe. Hooker's being without cavalry, as has been remarked by an historian of the war, made the surprise less difficult of accomplishment. Passing over a hill, the column was seen by General Sickles, who had been sent forward to reconnoitre, and coming upon a Georgia regiment after the rest of the column had passed, he took them all prisoners. Jackson was known to have moved southward, and a bend in the road gave his march the appearance of a retreat towards Richmond. Hooker, overjoyed, wrote exultingly, "We know the enemy is flying, trying to save his trains." So little did he imagine the true state of the case.

At five o'clock that evening, Jackson was storming the camp of the astonished Federals, who had been cooking their suppers away from their arms, and totally unprepared for the attack.

The corps of General Howard was completely

* Swinton.

routed; they were driven back, flying, beaten, and demoralized, to the Rappahannock.

General Jackson rode into the fight at the head of his troops. "He leaned forward on his horse, extending his arm far in front, as though he wished 'to push the men forward,' and his voice was heard exclaiming, 'Press forward! press forward!' every few minutes, during the entire attack. When not thus mastered by the ardor of battle, his right hand was raised aloft with that gesture now familiar to his men, as though he were praying to the God of battles for victory." * It was his last great charge, this stormy contest in the Wilderness — the crowning glory of his marvellous achievements!

By night, the Southern forces were close upon Hooker's headquarters. Here they became entangled in the felled trees and brushwood that protected the Federal works. In the darkness, some confusion ensued; men and officers could not recognize their own commands. It became necessary to halt and bring the ranks into order. Hooker took advantage of this pause, and opened a fierce fire on the woods which the Confederates had gained. At ten o'clock, General Jackson rode forward to examine the position. In his anxiety to make himself fully aware of the condition of affairs, he went far beyond his own lines.

"Orders had been given to the Confederates to

* Cooke's *Life of Jackson*.

fire upon cavalry coming from the enemy's direction. As Jackson returned, having neglected to give warning of his purpose, he was mistaken for the foe. The fatal fire of his brave soldiers was directed full upon the little group. All but two were killed or wounded. General Jackson had received three shots, — two in the arm, and one in his right hand. It was a terrible moment; the fire from the enemy's batteries lit up the solemn woods, and fell with a lurid light on the pale face of the great chieftain. Supported between his two aids, he made his way through his own lines. At length a litter was procured. The fire of the enemy increased in violence; one of the litter-bearers fell, wounded in both arms; it was necessary to pause until its fury had abated.

"As the slow progress was made through his old troops, inquiring glances turned upon them. Who was this, so mysteriously and jealously shielded from view? To all questions came the one answer, 'A Confederate officer.' At length one of the Old Brigade caught a glimpse of the well-known face. 'Great God!' he exclaimed, 'that is General Jackson!'" *

General Lee, when the news reached him of this misfortune, expressed with great feeling his relief, and thankfulness that it was "no worse." "Any victory," he added, "is a dear one that deprives us of the services of Jackson, even for a short time."

* Cooke's *Life of Jackson*.

He afterwards wrote him the following affectionate and heroic words:

"GENERAL:—I have just received your note, informing me that you were wounded. I cannot express my regret at the occurrence. Could I have directed events, I should have chosen, for the good of the country, to have been disabled in your stead. I congratulate you upon the victory which is due to your skill and energy."

When General Jackson received this note, he made the following characteristic reply: "General Lee is very kind; but he should give the glory to God."

In a few days the *worst* had come. General Lee had lost his "right arm"—the immortal Jackson. "He fell like the eagle," as was said of him by one hardly less illustrious, "his own feather on the shaft that was dripping with his life-blood." *

* Dr. Craven's *Prison-Life of Davis.*

CHAPTER XVII.

Stuart in Command of Jackson's Corps — The Battle resumed — "The Wilderness" on Fire — The Victory — General Lee's Address to the Army — Death of Jackson announced in General Orders — Letter from General Lee.

JACKSON had fallen in the stress and heat of conflict. The messenger who brought to General Lee the news of this disaster, added, that he believed it had been General Jackson s intention to press the enemy on Sunday. "These people shall be pressed to-day," was General Lee's instant rejoinder. Hill, second in command to Jackson, was wounded also, and to Stuart, the successful cavalry officer, had fallen the task of completing the work so well begun.

The loss of their beloved commander filled the troops with fury instead of dampening their ardor. With the shout, "Remember Jackson!" they threw themselves fiercely into the charge.

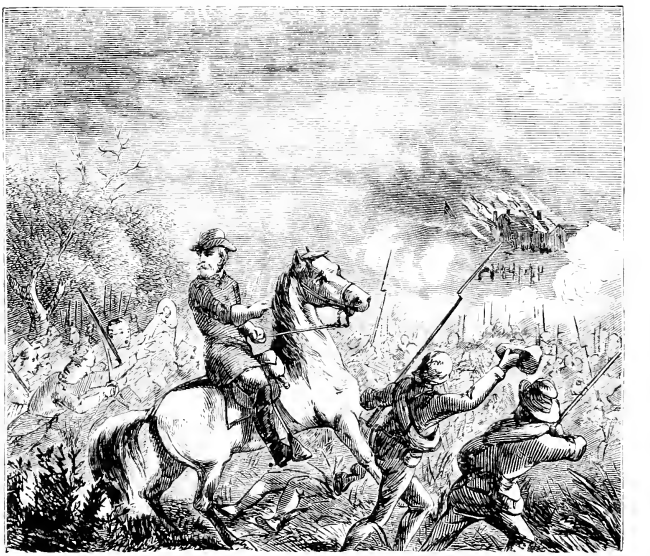
Mingled with the cry of vengeance for the fallen hero, there arose another, in strange and humorous contrast. The laughing tones of the gay cavalier Stuart were heard singing, as he made the charge, "Old Joe Hooker, will you come out of the Wilderness!"

This brave general, so distinguished as a cavalry leader, was now to prove himself not unworthy as

an infantry officer, to command the soldiers of Stonewall Jackson.

For a while, despite the impetuosity of the assault, it seemed as if the day would go against them. The ammunition gave out, and they were ordered to use the bayonet; but this proved needless. The enemy were falling back.

General Lee in the meanwhile was engaged in front, slowly forcing his way to a junction with Stuart. This accomplished, his whole army charged upon the works at Chancellorsville. Four times



BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE.

they were lost and won, but at length victory settled upon the banners of Lee.*

"The scene was horrible at this moment. The woods, which were full of wounded, had been set on fire by the shells, and the fierce flames were roaring around the helpless sufferers, many of whom perished in this terrible manner. The Chancellorsville house was in a bright blaze, and the clearing was full of smoke and fire. The shouts of the combatants, the crash of musketry, the heavy discharges of artillery, and the fierce crackling of the flames, all gave wild and terrible grandeur to the scene, such as is seldom witnessed even on a battle-field." †

* A Northern writer, who witnessed this combined attack, says: "The enemy could be seen, sweeping slowly but confidently, determinedly but surely, through the clearings which extended in front. Nothing could excite more admiration for the qualities of the veteran soldiers than the manner in which the enemy swept out, as they moved steadily onward, the forces which were opposed to them. We say it reluctantly, and for the first time, that the enemy have shown the finest qualities, and we acknowledge on this occasion their superiority in the open field to our own men. They delivered their fire with precision, and were apparently inflexible and immovable under the storm of bullets and shell which they were constantly receiving. Coming to a piece of timber, which was occupied by a division of our own men, half the number were detailed to clear the woods. It seemed certain that here they would be repulsed, but they marched right through the wood, driving our own soldiers out, who delivered their fire and fell back, halted again, fired, and fell back as before, seeming to concede to the enemy, as a matter of course, the superiority which they evidently felt themselves. Our own men fought well. There was no lack of courage, but an evident feeling that they were destined to be beaten, and the only thing for them to do was to fire and retreat."

† McCabe's *Life of Lee.*

Hooker retreated to a strong line in rear of Chancellorsville, which did not look as if he had ever really expected to "be after them." Lee resolved to attack this position also, and force him to retreat across the river.

But at this moment tidings reached him which demanded a new line of action. Sedgwick had captured Marye's Heights, and was marching upon Early at Salem Church. This, if taken, would put Lee's position in peril.

The gallant Mississippi Brigade, under Barksdale, with a portion of the Washington Artillery, had withstood bravely the attack on Marye's Heights. Three times two thousand men had resisted the Federal advance, but at length a flank movement compelled them to evacuate the position. Falling back slowly, fighting as they retreated, they reached Early. It was at this moment that Lee heard of the danger threatening him, and he immediately dispatched McLaw's division to check Sedgwick's advance.

"The course which he adopted in this emergency was precisely that prescribed by the highest principles of war — the principles on which Cæsar, and Gustavus, and Frederick fought battles; but it was a course very bold — unusually bold for the cautious and methodical mind of the Confederate commander." *

* Swinton's *Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac.*

General Wilcox was at Salem Church when the brigade sent by General Lee joined him. An action ensued, known as the battle of *Salem Church*, in which Sedgwick was driven back with great loss, while Hooker remained behind his intrenchments, guarded by Jackson's corps.

Hooker's plans were now entirely frustrated, and he fell back to the north bank of the river.

The losses at Chancellorsville were, it is computed, on the Federal side not less than 25,000 men. The Confederates lost 10,000, but among them was Jackson. This was an irremediable disaster. It cast its shadow over the land, making the victory count as little in the scale.

It was felt by all that a great force had been suddenly, mysteriously withdrawn from the fabric of the struggling nationality. From that hour to the end, on Lee alone rested the burden which only Jackson had been competent to share.

The following congratulatory address was issued while Jackson yet lay, as it was thought, only dangerously wounded :

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
May 7, 1863.

"GENERAL ORDER, No. 5.

"With heartfelt gratification the General commanding expresses to the army his sense of the heroic conduct displayed by officers and men during the arduous operations in which they have just been engaged.

"Under trying vicissitudes of heat and storm you attacked the enemy, strongly intrenched in the depths of a tangled wilderness, and again on the hills of Fredericksburg, fifteen miles distant, and by the valor that has triumphed on so many fields, forced him once more to seek safety beyond the Rappahannock. While this glorious victory entitles you to the praise and gratitude of the nation, we are especially called upon to return our grateful thanks to the only Giver of victory for the signal deliverance He has wrought.

"It is therefore earnestly recommended that the troops unite on Sunday next in ascribing unto the Lord of hosts the glory due unto His name.

"Let us not forget, in our rejoicing, the brave soldiers who have fallen in the defence of their country; and while we mourn their loss, let us resolve to emulate their noble example.

"The army and the country alike lament the absence for a time of one to whose bravery, energy, and skill they are so much indebted for success.

"The following letter from the President of the Confederate States is communicated to the army, as an expression of his appreciation of their success:

"'I have received your despatch, and reverently unite with you in giving praise to God for the success with which He has crowned our arms. In the name of the people, I offer my cordial thanks to yourself and the troops under your command for this addition to the unprecedented series of great victories which our army has achieved. The universal rejoicing produced by this happy result will

be mingled with a general regret for the good and brave who are numbered among the killed and wounded.' R. E. LEE, General."

A few days later, General Lee issued this order, announcing the death of his great Lieutenant:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
"May 11, 1863.

"GENERAL ORDER, No. 61.

"With deep grief, the commanding General announces to the army the death of Lieutenant-General T. J. Jackson, who expired on the 10th instant, at quarter past three P. M. The daring skill and energy of this great and good soldier, by the decree of an all-wise Providence, are now lost to us. But while we mourn his death, we feel that his spirit still lives, and will inspire the whole army with his indomitable courage and unshaken confidence in God as our hope and strength. Let his name be a watchword to his corps, who have followed him to victory on so many fields. Let his officers and soldiers emulate his invincible determination to do everything in the defence of our beloved country. R. E. LEE, General."

General Lee thus wrote of this event to one of his family:

"CAMP FREDERICKSBURG, May 11, 1863.

". . . . In addition to the death of officers and friends consequent upon the late battle, you will see we have to mourn the loss of the great and good

Jackson. Any victory would be dear at such a price. His remains go to Richmond to-day. I know not how to replace him; but God's will be done! I trust He will raise some one in his place. The papers will give you all the particulars; I have no time to narrate them."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Cavalry Fight at Brandy Station — Marching Northward — Milroy driven from Winchester — Crossing the Frontier — Hooker resigns — Meade in Command — General Lee's Strict Orders for Protection of Private Property — Exemplary Conduct of the Southern Troops.

THE condition of affairs at this time in the South and Southwest was far from encouraging. General Bragg had suffered repeated reverses. Pemberton was shut up in Vicksburg, besieged by Grant, with no hope of rescue. The two great objects of the Federal Government — the capture of Vicksburg, which would give them entire control of the Mississippi River, and the possession of the Confederate capital — divided the energies and resources of the Northern armies.

It was proposed at this juncture, during the month of May, to send Pickett's division to Mississippi, to reinforce the struggling army there; but upon the remonstrances of General Lee, the

proposition was abandoned. There could be no doubt as to the paramount importance of defending Richmond, and, as General Lee declared, it was *a question between Virginia and Mississippi.* Upon his visiting Richmond, a short time afterwards, it was proposed that he should reinforce Bragg, so as to enable him to drive back Rosecrans, merely leaving in Virginia a sufficient force to retain the defensive; or, by a forward movement into Pennsylvania, remove the pressure upon the Western army, and alarm the North for the safety of its own capital.

The latter course was adopted. It offered many advantages: the country had long urged the expediency of making the enemy feel the war by carrying it into his own country, and the *wheatfields* of Pennsylvania presented an abundant source from whence to replenish the impoverished commissariat of the South. The *morale* of the Army of Northern Virginia had never been better than at this period. Its successes at Chancellorsville had inspired it with the utmost confidence in itself and in its leaders. It was now augmented by the recall of Longstreet from North Carolina, and a new disposition of its forces was made by the Commander-in-chief. Jackson's old corps was given to General Ewell, and consisted of the divisions of Early, Rodes, and Johnson. A third corps was organized under A. P. Hill, embracing Anderson's, Pender's, and Heth's

divisions. Longstreet's corps contained the divisions of McLaws, Hood, and Pickett. The whole force amounted to seventy thousand men, not including the cavalry, ten thousand strong. Never before had the Southern army been so nearly commensurate to that of its foes.

Early in June General Lee was in motion. He was anxious to blind Hooker as to his actual designs, and for this purpose A. P. Hill was left in position on the Rappahannock, so as to make it appear that the army was still there. Longstreet was ordered to march to Culpepper, and Ewell was to follow him on the 4th or 5th.

General Lee anticipated that Hooker would do one of two things, as soon as he ascertained that the Confederate army was moving: either advance upon Richmond — when Lee would be in his rear, and could then capture Washington; or else fall back to cover his capital, when Lee would then pursue unmolested his march into Maryland and Pennsylvania, across the Upper Potomac.

On the 9th of June, a cavalry-fight took place between Stuart and Pleasanton, now in command of the Federal cavalry formerly under Stoneman. The latter were sent by Hooker to discover the movements of the Confederates, and were engaged by Stuart at Brandy Station. A fierce combat ensued, in which the Federals were repulsed with a loss of four hundred prisoners, and several hundred killed and wounded.

"Three times," says John Esten Cooke, in his account of the battle, "the enemy's guns were charged and captured; three times the Confederates were furiously charged in turn, and the pieces recaptured by the enemy. A final charge of the gray cavalry carried all before it." But at this moment the enemy were heavily reinforced, and the condition of the Confederates became perilous. "Cavalry were charging in every direction, and it was hard to tell friend from foe. Stuart was fighting, so to speak, from the centre outwards. The enemy were in his front, in his rear, and on both his flanks. If they closed in, apparently, he would be crushed as in a vice." The brigade of W. H. F. Lee, and part of Wade Hampton's division, under General Young of Georgia, coming up at this juncture, decided the fate of the day. They fought with sabres, and ere long the enemy were flying towards the river, and "Stuart had won the greatest cavalry-fight of the war." Stuart's loss was about five hundred, including General W. H. F. Lee, wounded.

Hooker concluded, from the presence of such a force at Culpepper, that an attack was contemplated on his rear; he hesitated whether to cut off Hill at Fredericksburg, or await Lee where he was.

Ewell in the meanwhile was pressing on to Winchester, then under the rule of the tyrant Milroy, who had won an infamous notoriety by his brutal conduct to the unarmed and defenceless inhabitants of that district.

On the 14th, the town was invested, the Federal works were carried by storm, and most of the garrison captured.* Milroy escaped, with a few of his officers, under cover of night.

Colonel Freemantle, an English officer, who entered the town with Lee's main army not long afterwards, thus speaks of the condition of the citizens during the six months of Milroy's rule: "During the whole of this time they could not legally buy an article of provisions without taking the oath of allegiance, which they magnanimously refused to do. They were unable to hear a word of their male relations or friends, who were all in the Southern army; they were shut up in their houses after eight P. M., and sometimes deprived of light; and they were constantly subjected to the most humiliating insults, on pretence of searching the house for arms, documents, &c."

Martinsburg and Berryville were also freed from

* Captain Chesney, Royal Engineers, in his interesting work, *Campaigns in Virginia, Maryland, &c., &c.*, says: "The assault was made by Haye's Irish brigade of Early's division, with a gallantry freely acknowledged by Northern eye-witnesses, and was entirely successful;" and he adds in a note, page 20, vol. ii.:

"It has been remarkable throughout the war, that the Irish of all classes resident in the South have adopted the Confederate cause with the greatest ardor. Yet there were very few slave-owners among them. But, as Dicey has acutely observed, in his well-known work on the Federal States, 'It would be as absurd to assert that the slavery cause was only maintained in the South by the 400,000 holders of slaves, as to say that there were no supporters of the peerage in England but the thousand members or so of the nobility themselves.'"

Federal domination by the advancing troops, and in a short time the whole valley was open to the Confederates.

When Ewell's movements were made known to Hooker, he perceived that he had mistaken Lee's purpose. He withdrew his army from the line of the Rappahannock, and took up his march towards Manassas.

A. P. Hill, as soon as he was satisfied that the enemy had left Stafford, started forward to the valley. To protect his march, Longstreet was ordered to occupy the passes of the Blue Ridge.

The three corps were thus in position to cross into the enemy's country, Hooker having been completely foiled by the strategy of the Southern leader.

Great consternation prevailed in the North at the rumored approach of the Confederates. The militia was called out in Pennsylvania and several other States, and the farmers drove their stock north of the Susquehanna, to be out of reach of the terrible Rebels.

On the 22d of June, Ewell's corps crossed the Potomac near Shepherdstown, passing through Maryland into Pennsylvania, where they occupied Chambersburg.

Six days later, Hooker resigned his position, and General Meade was appointed commander-in-chief of the Federal forces, numbering one hundred and

fifty thousand men. Putting himself at their head, and disposing them so as to cover both Baltimore and Washington, he moved rapidly forward to stop the progress of the Southern army.

By the 27th of June, the whole of the Confederate army was at Chambersburg. General Lee issued to it the same day the following address:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
"CHAMBERSBURG, Pa., June 27, 1863.

"GENERAL ORDER, No. 73.

"The Commanding General has observed with marked satisfaction the conduct of the troops on the march, and confidently anticipates results commensurate with the high spirit they have manifested. No troops could have displayed greater fortitude or better performed the arduous marches of the past ten days. Their conduct in other respects has, with few exceptions, been in keeping with their character as soldiers, and entitles them to approbation and praise.

"There have, however, been instances of forgetfulness on the part of some, that they have in keeping the yet unsullied reputation of the army, and that the duties exacted of us by civilization and Christianity are not less obligatory in the country of the enemy than in our own.

"The Commanding General considers that no greater disgrace could befall the army, and through it our whole people, than the perpetration of the barbarous outrages upon the innocent and defenceless, and the wanton destruction of private property,

that have marked the course of the enemy in our own country. Such proceedings not only disgrace the perpetrators and all connected with them, but are subversive of the discipline and efficiency of the army, and destructive of the ends of our present movements. It must be remembered that we make war only upon armed men, and that we cannot take vengeance for the wrongs our people have suffered without lowering ourselves in the eyes of all whose abhorrence has been excited by the atrocities of our enemy, and offending against Him to whom vengeance belongeth, without whose favor and support our efforts must all prove in vain.

"The Commanding General, therefore, earnestly exhorts the troops to abstain, with most scrupulous care, from unnecessary or wanton injury to private property; and he enjoins upon all officers to arrest and bring to summary punishment all who shall in any way offend against the orders on this subject.

"R. E. LEE, General."

Colonel Freemantle gives his testimony to the faithful manner in which these orders were carried out, in his account of the march:

"I saw no straggling into the houses, nor were any of the inhabitants disturbed or annoyed by the soldiers. . . . I went into Chambersburg again, and witnessed the singular good behavior of the troops towards the citizens. . . . To one who has seen *as I have* the ravages of the Northern troops in Southern towns, this forbearance seems most commendable and surprising."

One of the Southern officers, writing to his wife at this time, says:

"I felt, when I first came here, that I would like to revenge myself upon these people for the devastation they have brought upon our own beautiful home — that home where we could have lived so happily, and that we loved so much, from which their vandalism has driven you and my helpless little ones. But, though I had such severe wrongs and grievances to redress, and such great cause for revenge, yet, when I got among these people, I could not find it in my heart to molest them."

And more than one correspondent of the Northern journals at that time testified to the prompt obedience paid by the Southern troops to the orders of their beloved chief. Even a Pennsylvania farmer could declare: "I must say they acted like gentlemen, and, their cause aside, I would rather have forty thousand Rebels quartered on my premises than one thousand Union troops."

CHAPTER XIX.

The Army in Pennsylvania — General Lee Embarrassed for Want of Cavalry — Gettysburg — First Day — Hancock remains in Possession of Cemetery Ridge — Second Day — Attempts upon the Right and Left — Third Day — Pickett's Famous Charge upon the Centre — *La Garde Recule!*

GENERAL LEE was now about to march upon Harrisburg, when news reached him of the rapid advance of the Federal army, arresting his progress, and causing him some anxiety about the safety of his communications.

The want of cavalry had been severely felt, as without it, it was impossible to obtain reliable information as to the movements of his adversary. Stuart was still many miles away, the Federal army between himself and Lee. He had received orders which, if faithfully carried out, would have materially assisted General Lee in his operations. General Lee, with his usual forbearance, attaches no blame to Stuart,* who represents himself as unavoidably compelled, by the movements of Hooker, to take the long and circuitous route which brought him to General Lee's side too late to be of any service. The latter had depended greatly on Stuart's co-operation. "His anxiety was extreme," writes one of his biographers; "all his staff-officers ob-

* Pollard's *Lee and his Lieutenants.*

served the troubled look in his face, as day after day, and at last hour after hour, he inquired for 'news from Stuart.' The phrase at headquarters was, 'We are hungry for cavalry.' . . . The situation was one in which General Lee found himself in the mountains of Pennsylvania, with *the eyes of his army* put out, not knowing where the enemy was, or where would be the field of battle, compelled to grope his way to whatever issue accident might determine." *

To Gettysburg — an important centre where several roads met — the two armies were now gravitating. Meade arrived first. It was not his purpose to remain there; but the advance of the Confederates, driving in Buford's cavalry, compelled the Federal troops to make a stand at the town. Reynolds, commanding the Federal first corps, came to the support of the cavalry. Forming in line of battle, they received the attack of the Confederates, and were forced back; but rally-

* "In General Lee's official report he makes no complaint of the disappointment of the campaign by the absence of Stuart's cavalry column; and, indeed, this circumstance was, until recently, lost to history. General Lee was always very abstinent of censure of his officers, and he once remarked that he could never consider himself at liberty to make reference, in his official reports, to a fault of an officer, unless it had been found and established by a court-martial. Despite General Stuart's abundant record of glorious services, he is said to have deeply regretted his failure to get his cavalry in position to serve as designed in the campaign, and to have been affected by the disap pointment to the day of his death." — *Lee and his Lieutenants.*

ing again under General Reynolds in person, they in turn drove back the Confederates. General Reynolds lost his life in the action, and several hundred Confederates were taken prisoners, including Brigadier-General Archer.

Brigades were now moved up on either side, the two armies hastening to confront each other. The struggle continued with varying success until three o'clock, when, Early's division arriving, an impetuous attack was made by him on the Federal right, Rodes charging the centre. The Federal line was broken, a general advance followed, and the Federal troops were driven in confusion through the town, with a loss of five thousand prisoners and several pieces of artillery. For a short distance the Confederates followed the retreating foe, when an order came to stop the pursuit. Thus Hancock, who had succeeded Reynolds, gained time to collect his scattered troops and intrench himself on Cemetery Hill, a position so strong and impregnable, it was of the utmost importance that he should have been dislodged while it was yet possible to do so.

The fortunate moment passed away. Meade's Lieutenant had seized upon the key of the situation. On the night of the 1st of July it was no longer doubtful with which side rested the advantage of position.

"Cemetery Ridge," on which the Federal army was intrenched, is a long line of hills running

south of Gettysburg. Bending eastward, it terminates to the right in Culp's Hill, and southward it culminates in the jagged crest of Round Top Hill. Here rested Meade's left. On Culp's Hill, four miles distant, stretched the Federal right.

About a mile and a half apart, on a lower but parallel ridge, lay encamped the forces of Lee. Ewell's corps on the left, A. P. Hill in the centre; Longstreet facing Round Top, occupied the Confederate right.

On the morning of the 2d of July, the two armies thus confronted each other. The day wore away, and neither side seemed disposed to begin the attack. Evidently Meade had no intention of coming out from his stronghold to assume the offensive. Was it not therefore advisable for General Lee to decline fighting under such disadvantages, by withdrawing his forces and manœuvring for a more favorable position?

He thought otherwise, and has given the reasons which determined his subsequent action, in these words:

"It had not been intended to fight a general battle at such distance from our base, unless attacked by the enemy; but finding ourselves unexpectedly confronted by the Federal army, it became a matter of difficulty to withdraw through the mountains with our large trains. At the same time the country was unfavorable for collecting

supplies, while in the presence of the enemy's main body, as he was enabled to restrain our foraging parties by occupying the passes of the mountains with regular and local troops. A battle thus became, in a measure, unavoidable. Encouraged by the successful issue of the first day, and in view of the valuable results which would ensue from the defeat of the army of General Meade, it was thought advisable to renew the attack."

Towards five in the afternoon, the heavy roll of artillery broke the stillness of the July day. It proceeded from the Confederate lines. Under cover of this fire, General Lee had determined to make a desperate attempt to carry Round Top Hill, which would make him master of Meade's entire position. Just in front of the hill, the Federal line had been pushed forward, and seemed to offer an easily assailable point from which the peak itself could be made accessible.

To cover this movement, a feint was to be made on the enemy's right. On Hood's division, of Longstreet's corps, devolved the assault of Round Top Hill.

With the wild cheer peculiar to the Confederate troops, the impetuous charge was made, driving the blue lines before them. The Federal left seemed thrown into hopeless confusion. Already the fiery Texans had clambered up the heights, and were fighting desperately hand-to-hand with the small

force that still disputed its possession. Victory seemed within their grasp; but at this moment a Federal brigade was hurried rapidly forward, guns were being dragged up the heights, and a new and stronger line disclosed itself beyond. After a desperate struggle, Hood, finding himself unsupported, was forced to fall back. The enemy had been rapidly reinforced, and the Confederate assault, after so nearly attaining success, had ended in a repulse. Ewell, who had changed the feint on the Federal right into an attack, had not been entirely without success. Some ground had been wrested from the enemy, but the attack of the several divisions not being made with the unanimity that had been designed, fell short of really important results.

The morning of the 3d of July broke on the two armies still face to face. It was not possible to retreat now without one more effort to retrieve the fortunes of the eager, ardent host, still full of confidence, and panting for a victory over the antagonist they had so often vanquished.

General Lee resolved to pierce the enemy's centre. Again the roar of cannon announces the approaching struggle. A hundred and forty-five guns were massed to protect the attacking troops. The cannonade lasted two hours. General Hancock says of it:

"Their artillery fire was most terrific. . . . It

was a most terrific and appalling cannonade, one possibly hardly ever equalled."

Pickett's division of five thousand men is chosen for this assault. Steadily they march forward; the Southern guns can no longer protect them. "Into the gates of death" they advance, these devoted Virginians, without pausing, without wavering, though men are falling at every step, struck down by the deadly hail poured into their ranks. Garnet, Kemper, Armistead, are shot down, but Pickett, who, with his fiery eye and long waving locks, seems the fit hero of story, gains the crest.*

But the division sent to support him has fallen back. Captain C. C. Chesney, of the Royal Engineers, who has written an admirable book on the war, says:

"Pettigrew's troops were but raw in battle. Their desultory services on the coast of North Carolina had but ill prepared them for the fearful ordeal of that fatal valley; and before they had completed the descent of the slope on their own side, they wavered, and held back in parts, causing those who watched their conduct to augur ill for Pickett, should he trust to their support. . . . . .

"Let those who would judge these troops severely, remember that they were opposed to batteries,

* "It advanced over the intervening space of near a mile in such compact and imposing order, that, whether friend or foe, none who saw it could refrain from admiration of its magnificent array." — *Swinton.*

compared to whose cannonade that of the heaviest cannon of position of Leipsic or Waterloo was light and trifling."

With thinned ranks, without officers, assailed flank and rear, Pickett can no longer hold the prize. Slowly it falls from his victorious grasp.

"Whatever valor could do to wrest victory from the jaws of hell, that it must be conceded the troops of Pickett had done," writes a Northern historian; but it was of no avail. The day was lost.

With the name of Gettysburg, men will always associate the heroic charge of Pickett's division. A Northern critic, in reviewing a history of this division, says:

"More is in a name in the South than with us; and it was the custom there to call brigades, divisions, and corps after their respective leaders — a custom that is worthy of passing notice. Had it any real significance? Did it mark the aristocratic tendency of the Southern mind? Did it prove a lofty sentimental sense of glory in the Southern breast? Some may incline to think it did, that something more than life and fortune and sacred honor was dedicated to the fight, when each general officer threw his name into the struggle before all the world."

The writer then goes on to speak of that "charge in praise of which it may be truly said, that the world never knew a more glorious self-sacrifice for

honor's sake;" and after detailing the casualties,—seven colonels of regiments killed and six wounded, besides the loss of the brigade commanders, Kemper wounded and captured, Garnet and Armistead slain,—concludes: "In fine, of the whole complement of field officers in fifteen regiments, only one escaped unhurt. The loss in companies was in almost the same fearful proportion. *It was one of the world's great deeds of arms.*"

Colonel Freemantle, who witnessed the battle of Gettysburg, says of the Southern leaders after the repulse:

"If Longstreet's conduct was admirable, that of General Lee was perfectly sublime. He was engaged in rallying and in encouraging the broken troops, and was riding about a little in front of the wood quite alone, the whole of his staff being engaged in a similar manner farther to the rear. His face, which is always placid and cheerful, did not show signs of the slightest disappointment, care, or annoyance; and he was addressing to every soldier he met a few words of encouragement, such as, 'All this will come right in the end; we 'll talk it over afterwards: but in the meantime all good men must rally. We want all good and true men just now,' &c. He spoke to all the wounded men that passed him, and the slightly wounded he exhorted 'to bind up their hurts and take up a musket' in this emergency. Very few failed to answer his appeal, and I saw many badly

wounded men take off their hats and cheer him. He said to me, 'This has been a sad day for us, Colonel—a sad day; but we can't expect always to gain victories.' He was also kind enough to advise me to get into some more sheltered position, as the shells were bursting round us with considerable frequency.

"Notwithstanding the misfortune which had so suddenly befallen him, General Lee seemed to observe everything, however trivial. When a mounted officer began whipping his horse for shying at the bursting of a shell, he called out, 'Don't whip him, Captain; don't whip him! I've got just such another foolish horse myself, and whipping does no good.'

"One of his Generals coming up in great distress, lamenting the state of his brigade, General Lee shook hands with him, saying, 'Never mind, General; all this has been my fault. It is I that have lost this fight, and you must help me out of it in the best way you can.'

"In this noble manner," adds Colonel Freemantle, "I saw General Lee encourage and reanimate his somewhat dispirited troops, and magnanimously take upon his own shoulders the whole weight of the repulse."

To the conduct of the soldiers the English officer pays this tribute:

"No words that I can use will adequately express the extraordinary patience and fortitude with

which the wounded Confederates bore their sufferings."

Words of cheerful trust in their commander, such as, "We've not lost confidence in the old man; this day's work won't do him no harm. 'Uncle Robert' will get us into Washington yet," &c., attested the courage and resolution which still inspired the army of Lee.

The spirit of the army was unbroken. General Meade himself testifies that there were no symptoms of demoralization.

Colonel Freemantle says:

"General Lee and his officers were fully impressed with a sense of the situation; yet there was much less noise, fuss, or confusion of orders than at an ordinary field-day. The men, as they were rallied in the wood, were brought up in detachments, and lay down quietly and coolly in the positions assigned to them."

The condition of the Southern forces was by no means critical. They were willing and anxious to be attacked. But Meade showed no disposition to advance. That it was the part of prudence for him not to have done so, may readily be believed on the testimony of General Longstreet.

"I had," he has declared, "Hood and McLaws, who had not been engaged; I had a heavy force of artillery; I should have liked nothing better

than to have been attacked, and have no doubt I should have given those who tried as bad a reception as Pickett received." *

CHAPTER XX.

The Retreat from Gettysburg — The Attack upon the Wagon Trains — The Potomac Impassable — General Lee prepares for Battle — The River falls — Back to Virginia.

ON the 4th, the two armies occupied the same positions as on the first day's fight. On the following day, General Lee prepared to move his army from Gettysburg. This retreat was conducted with skill and success. The prisoners, seven thousand in number, all the artillery, wagon trains, cattle, &c., were brought away safely.

In carrying off the trains, there occurred what was known in the army as the "wagoner's fight." A

* Captain Chesney, in the work before referred to, says: "No stronger proof can be given of the extreme confidence of the Confederate Generals in the quality of their troops than the wish, well known to have been felt by Lee and his chief officers on the 4th of July, that the enemy might celebrate the day by attempting the counter-attack which they had somewhat dreaded the night before. The reserve ammunition had been so carefully husbanded that enough remained for another day's action; and it was hoped that the opportunity might be given for such a repulse of the Federals as should leave them but little cause to boast of their victory. But Meade's intentions were of a more cautious cast than his enemy desired."

graphic account of this has lately been written by the officer who commanded the escort of the retreating trains. He says:

"Daybreak on the morning of the 5th found the head of our column at Greencastle, twelve or fifteen miles from the Potomac, at Williamsport, our point of crossing. . . . After a great deal of harassing and desultory fighting along the road, nearly the whole immense train reached Williamsport a little after the middle of the day. The town was taken possession of; all the churches, school-houses, etc., were converted into hospitals, and proving insufficient, many of the private houses were occupied. Straw was obtained on the neighboring farms; the wounded were removed from the wagons and housed; the citizens were all put to cooking, and the army surgeons to dressing wounds. The dead were selected from the train — for many had perished on the way — and were decently buried. All this had to be done, because the tremendous rains had raised the river more than ten feet above the fording stage, and we could not possibly cross.

"Our situation was frightful. We had over ten thousand animals and all the wagons of General Lee's army under our charge, and all the wounded that could be brought from Gettysburg. Our supply of provisions consisted of a few wagon-loads of flour and a small lot of cattle. My effective force was only about twenty-one hundred men and twenty odd field-pieces. We did not know where our army was; the river could not be crossed, and

small parties of cavalry were still hovering around. The means of ferriage consisted of two small boats and a small wire rope stretched across the river, which, owing to the force of the swollen current, broke several times during the day. To reduce the space to be defended as much as possible, all the wagons and animals were parked close together on the river-bank. Believing that an attack would soon be made upon us, I ordered the wagoners to be mustered, and, taking three out of every four, organized them into companies, and armed them with the weapons of the wounded men found in the train. By this means I added to my effective force about five hundred men. Slightly wounded officers promptly volunteered their services to command these improvised soldiers; and many of our quartermasters and commissaries did the same thing. We were not seriously molested on the 5th, but next morning about nine o'clock, information reached me that a large body of cavalry from Frederick, Maryland, was rapidly advancing to attack us. As we could not retreat further, it was at once frankly made known to the troops, that, unless we could repel the threatened attack, we should all become prisoners, and that the loss of his whole transportation would probably ruin General Lee, for it could not be replaced for many months, if at all, in the then exhausted condition of the Confederate States. So far from repressing the ardor of the troops, this frank announcement of our peril inspired all with the utmost enthusiasm. Men and officers alike, forgetting the sufferings of the past

few days, proclaimed their determination to drive back the attacking force, or perish in the attempt. All told, we were less than three thousand men. The advancing force we knew to be more than double ours, consisting, as we had ascertained, of five regular and eight volunteer regiments of cavalry, with eighteen guns, all under the command of Generals Buford and Kilpatrick. We had no works of any kind; the country was open and almost level, and there was no advantage of position we could occupy. It must necessarily be a square stand-up fight, face to face. We had twenty-two field-guns of various calibre, and one Whitworth. These were disposed in batteries, in semi-circle, about one mile out of the village, on the summit of a very slight rising ground that lies back of the town. Except the artillery, our troops were held out of view of the assailants, and ready to be moved promptly to any menaced point along the whole line of nearly two miles in extent. Knowing that nothing could save us but a bold 'bluff' game, orders had been given to the artillery, as soon as the advancing forces came within range, to open fire along the whole line, and keep it up with the utmost rapidity. A little after one o'clock, they appeared on two roads in our front, and our batteries opened. They soon had their guns in position, and a very lively artillery fight began. We fired with great rapidity, and in less than an hour two of our batteries reported that our ammunition was exhausted. This would have been fatal to us but for the opportune arrival at the critical moment of an

ammunition train from Winchester. The wagons were ferried across to our side as soon as possible, and driven on the field in a gallop to supply the silent guns. Not having men to occupy half our line, they were moved up in order of battle, first to one battery, then withdrawn and double-quicked to another, but out of view of our assailants till they could be shown at some other point on our line. By this manœuvring, we made the impression that we had a strong supporting force in rear of all our guns along the entire front. To test this, Generals Buford and Kilpatrick dismounted five regiments, and advanced them on foot on our right. We concentrated there all the men we had, wagoners and all, and thus, with the aid of the united fire of all our guns directed at the advancing line, we drove it back, and rushed forward two of our batteries four or five hundred yards further to the front. This boldness prevented another charge, and the fight was continued till near sunset with the artillery. About that time, General Fitzhugh Lee sent a message from toward Greencastle, that if we could hold out an hour he would reinforce us with three thousand men. This intelligence elicited a loud and long continued cheer along our whole line, which was heard and understood by our adversaries, as we learned from prisoners taken. A few minutes later, General J. E. P. Stuart, advancing from Hagerstown, fell unexpectedly upon the rear of their right wing, and in ten minutes they were in rapid retreat by their left flank in the direction of Boonsborough. Night coming on, enabled them to escape.

"By extraordinary good fortune we had thus saved all of General Lee's trains. A bold charge at any time before sunset would have broken our feeble lines, and we would have fallen an easy prey to the Federals." *

The next day the army arrived. Their march was deliberate and in perfect order. Many of the badly wounded insisted on marching in the ranks. Full of resolution and courage, and an undiminished confidence in their commander, "the famous Army of Northern Virginia — great in defeat as in victory — took its slow way back to the soil of Virginia."

When they had reached Williamsport, the swollen river barred their further progress. Then Lee and his resolute troops sat down, with their face to the foe, and awaited the fall of the waters. Seven days of anxious, perilous watch on the banks of the Potomac, with ammunition nearly exhausted, no hope of reinforcements, Meade's army as strong in numbers as before the losses of Gettysburg, advancing upon them, and the treacherous river at their backs — the situation was appalling.

General Lee was so confident that Meade was approaching the Potomac for the purpose of attacking him, that the day before the arrival of the Federal army he issued the following order to his

* "Lee at Gettysburg;" *The Galaxy*, April, 1871.

troops, his headquarters being then at Hagerstown: *

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
July 11, 1863.

"GENERAL ORDER, No. 15.

"After the long and trying marches, endured with the fortitude that has ever characterized the soldiers of the Army of Northern Virginia, you have penetrated to the country of our enemies, and recalled to the defence of their own soil those who were engaged in the invasion of ours. You have fought a fierce and sanguinary battle, which, if not attended with the success which has hitherto crowned your efforts, was marked with the same heroic spirit that has commanded the respect of your enemies, the gratitude of your country, and the admiration of mankind.

"Once more you are called upon to meet the enemy from whom you have torn so many fields — names that will never die; once more the eyes of your countrymen are turned upon you; and again do wives and sisters, fathers and mothers, and help-

* "At Hagerstown he first learned that his son, W. H. F. Lee, who had been badly wounded at Brandy Station, in June, was now in a Federal prison, and his life in danger. . . . . Threats were held out as to his life being forfeited, if the Richmond Government should carry out the purpose they had announced of retaliating on two of their prisoners for the execution by Burnside (under pretences held illegal by President Davis) of two Confederate captains lately taken in Kentucky. . . . . Unmoved by all this burden of public and private cares, Lee lost neither the cool judgment, on which his army relied, nor the unruffled sweetness of temper which made him the idol of those about him." — *Campaigns in Virginia, Maryland, &c.*, by C. C. Chesney, Royal Engineers.

less children lean for defence on your strong arms and brave hearts. Let every soldier remember that on his courage and fidelity depends all that makes life worth having — the freedom of his country, the honor of his people, and the security of his home. Let each heart grow strong in the remembrance of our glorious past and in the thought of the inestimable blessings for which we contend; and, invoking the assistance of that Heavenly Power which has so signally blessed our former efforts, let us go forth in confidence to secure the peace and safety of our country. Soldiers, your old enemy is before you. Win from him honor worthy of your right cause, worthy of your comrades dead on so many illustrious fields.

"R. E. Lee, General Commanding."

Earthworks were thrown up, and every preparation made for the struggle which threatened them. Meade arrived, intrenched himself, and waited also.

The following night — the 13th of July — the Confederate army crossed the river, without other loss than a few disabled wagons and two pieces of artillery, the horses drawing the latter having become exhausted. Some stragglers, overcome by fatigue, fell asleep, and going astray in the rain and darkness, fell into the hands of the enemy.*

* It may not be amiss here to give the history of a veteran hen, an old campaigner of the Army of Northern Virginia, whose remarkable services deserve to be commemorated. It is not remembered how or when she made her appearance in "camp;" but early experiencing the attentions of the Commander-in-Chief, she repaid

A flank movement was afterwards made by Meade, who, crossing the river at Berlin, attempted to cut off the further retreat of Lee, but without success.

On the 1st of August the Confederate army was established in safety on the Rapidan, Meade facing Lee, each in very nearly the same position as before the march into Pennsylvania.

The campaign was over.

his notice by laying an egg every day beneath the table of his tent. Whenever the encampment was changed, the old hen was seen to fly upon the last wagon, where, perched upon the baggage, she made the "march." She accompanied the army into Pennsylvania, and after the battle of Gettysburg, in the retreat, amid the darkness and rain, the old hen was forgotten. What was the amazement of the men, when the sun shone upon the army safe upon the Virginia side of the Potomac, to find the hen, who had outlived all the danger of the campaign, again at her post of duty. This veteran survived the war.

CHAPTER XXI.

Dark Days in the Confederacy — Proclamation by the President — General Lee's Order to the Army — Longstreet's Corps sent to Tennessee — General Lee advances upon Meade — Stuart's narrow Escape — Engagement at Bristoe Station — Back to the Rapidan — Winter Quarters.

THE fall of Vicksburg, occurring at the same time with the disaster at Gettysburg, marked a period of unprecedented gloom in the fortunes of the Confederacy. All hope of a speedy termination of the war had vanished.

On the 15th of July Mr. Davis issued a proclamation, calling into the military service every male between the ages of eighteen and forty-five.

A day of humiliation and prayer, appointed by the President in August, was observed throughout the country. The following order was issued by General Lee in regard to its observance:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
"August 13, 1863.

"GENERAL ORDERS, No. 83.

"The President of the Confederate States has, in the name of the people, appointed the 21st day of August as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer. A strict observance of the day is enjoined upon the officers and soldiers of this army. All military duties, except such as are absolutely necessary, will be suspended. The commanding officers

of brigades are requested to cause Divine service, suitable to the occasion, to be performed in their respective commands.

"Soldiers! we have sinned against Almighty God. We have forgotten his signal mercies, and have cultivated a revengeful, haughty, and boastful spirit. We have not remembered that the defenders of a just cause should be pure in His eyes, that 'our times are in His hands;' and we have relied too much on our own arms for the achievement of our independence. God is our 'only refuge and our strength.' Let us humble ourselves before him. Let us confess our many sins, and beseech Him to give us a higher courage, a purer patriotism, and more determined will; that He will convert the hearts of our enemies; that He will hasten the time when war, with its sorrows and sufferings, shall cease, and that He will give us a name and a place among the nations of the earth.

"R. E. Lee, General."

August and September wore away without any event of importance, except that, during the latter month, General Lee's force was reduced by the transfer of the first corps, under Longstreet, to the army of Bragg in Tennessee. Meade was about to take advantage of Lee's diminished numbers, and attempt a flank movement, when he received orders to send off two corps to reinforce the Federal army at Chattanooga. General Lee now determined, although his opponent's force still ex-

ceeded his own, to execute a bold movement, which, if successful, would result in cutting off Meade's communications with Washington. By a circuitous march along private roads, he came within a short distance of Culpepper Court-House. Fitz-Lee's cavalry and a detachment of infantry were left behind for the purpose of deceiving the enemy. General Stuart, with the rest of the cavalry, accompanied General Lee to protect the advance. Coming upon the Federal cavalry at James City, they were driven back upon Culpepper Court-House, where Meade's army lay. Finding, from this attack, that his right flank had been turned, Meade retreated across the Rappahannock.

General Lee, pushing forward his whole army, occupied the Court-House on the 11th. An engagement took place that evening, at Brandy Station, between the cavalry of the two armies. Stuart being now reinforced by Fitz-Lee's division, the Federal troops were driven across the river with severe loss. Lee hastened forward in hopes of intercepting Meade's retreat. Arrived at the Rappahannock opposite Warrenton Springs, a cavalry skirmish ensued, with some artillery firing; but the passage of the river was at length effected, and in a short time the whole army reached Warrenton.

Meade was still in doubt as to the designs of his adversary, and deciding that his retreat had been

too precipitate, resolved to return to Culpepper and give battle. A portion of his troops had already turned back for this purpose, when news reached him of the repulse of his cavalry at the Rappahannock, which made him aware of the danger to which he was exposing himself. Orders were immediately dispatched to recall those forces, which at once returned to Culpepper.

It was at this juncture that General Stuart found himself placed in a critical position between two large bodies of the enemy. Having set out on a reconnoissance to Catlet's Station, he found, on nearing the place, that the enemy was in his front. Turning to retrace his steps to Warrenton, his scouts reported heavy masses of infantry moving towards him on this road.

He was hemmed in between the columns of French and Warren, concealed in a narrow belt of woods, within sound almost of the enemy's voices. The Confederate cavalry passed an anxious night. Messengers, in blue coats, had been sent to General Lee to acquaint him with their perilous position. Afraid to sleep, fearful lest some incautious sound should betray them, they sat on their horses through the weary hours, in anxious expectation of the dawn.

The camp-fires lighted to get breakfast, within a hundred and fifty yards of their place of concealment, showed them the faces of their dangerous

neighbors: and two of Meade's staff strayed into their covert during the night and were captured.

At length the glad sound of musketry announced the approach of Confederate infantry. Stuart immediately opened upon the Federals from the rear with his artillery, causing great consternation by the unexpectedness and precision of his fire. Then moving aside and leaving the main roads, he made his way to Lee's lines, without sustaining any loss.*

Lee's army, which had been delayed in Warrenton to procure provisions, was divided into two columns, and resumed its march on the 14th.

By different roads, the two commands under Ewell and Hill were ordered to make their way as rapidly as possible to Bristoe Station. But Meade, now fully cognizant of their designs, and having the shorter line, succeeded in bringing up his forces before Lee arrived.

Hill coming up with the Federal rear-guard near the Station, a severe engagement took place: and mistaking the strength of the force opposed to him,

* "Unseen himself in the valley, veiled by mist and the gray morning light, he had yet a plain view of the Union forces on the illuminated hill-tops, and for a few minutes, till the troops could be moved to the opposite side of the hill under cover, the fire from the Confederate batteries told with fatal effect. A remarkable example of this destructive effect was furnished by one of the shells which killed seven men. Having thus paid his compliments, the rollicsome *sabreur* escaped by moving to the rear around the Union rear-guard." — SWINTON: *Army of the Potomac.*

he advanced his two brigades upon the enemy's strong position, and was repulsed with great loss.

General Lee arriving with the main body after the unfortunate affair had terminated, found Meade already in a position of safety beyond Bull Run.

The expedition had failed of its legitimate object, but had been accompanied by a success in the valley, which slightly compensated for the disappointment experienced elsewhere.

General Imboden, to whom had been intrusted the task of guarding the passes of the Blue Ridge, not content with accomplishing this object, determined to capture the garrison at Charlestown.

Marching from Berryville on the 18th, he contrived his movements with so much caution, that his vicinity was not suspected by the Federals until the town was surrounded.

The garrison, four hundred and thirty-four officers and men, surrendered after a slight resistance. The Lieutenant-Colonel and several other officers, making their escape, gave the alarm at Harper's Ferry. A force was immediately sent from there, but arrived too late for the succor of Charlestown.

General Lee estimated his losses in this entire expedition at one thousand men. He took two thousand prisoners.

After destroying the Orange and Alexandria railroad, from Bull Run back to the Rappahannock, General Lee now began falling back, Meade pursuing without overtaking him.

In this retrograde movement occurred the fight between Stuart's cavalry and that of General Kilpatrick, known among Stuart's troops as the "Buckland races," which a Northern historian details in these words:

"While on the advance towards Warrenton, on the 19th, Kilpatrick's division skirmished warmly with Hampton's division up to Buckland Mills, at the crossing of Broad Run, on the southern bank of which Hampton took post, under the personal direction of Stuart, who here planned a skilful manœuvre to defeat his opponent. Kilpatrick having forced the crossing by turning the flank of Hampton, Stuart fell back slowly towards Warrenton, with the view of permitting Fitz-Lee's cavalry division to come up from Auburn and attack the Union cavalry in flank and rear. This plan was carried out with some success. Fitz-Lee, arriving just below Buckland, surprised Kilpatrick's force on the flank, and Stuart, hearing Fitz-Lee's guns, pressed vigorously in front with Hampton's division. A stubborn resistance was offered, but a charge *au fond* finally forced Kilpatrick's command to give way, and he retreated in some confusion."

"*Great* confusion," adds the writer, in a foot-note, quoting from Stuart's report.

A member of Stuart's staff describes this affair as "one of the most animated of the war."

The "ruse" suggested by Fitz-Lee had succeeded admirably. Stuart's retreat was only meant to draw his adversary into the snare awaiting him.

"Then Fitz-Lee was to attack the enemy in flank and rear, from the direction of Auburn. His cannon would be the signal for Stuart to return. . . . . .

"Suddenly the wild Southern cheer rang above the woods. Stuart and Fitz-Lee had united their forces. In one solid column they pressed the flying enemy, banging and thundering on their rear with carbines and cannon. Kilpatrick was defeated; his column in hopeless rout.

"'Stuart boasts of having driven me from Culpepper,' he is reported to have said, just before the fight, 'and now I am going to drive *him!*'" . . . . .

On returning to the Rappahannock, General Lee posted his troops on both sides of the railroad,—Ewell on the right, Hill on the left,—and quietly waited the approach of Meade.

The latter was not long in repairing the damage done to the railroad by the Confederates, and as soon as this was completed, he prepared for another advance.

On the 7th of November, the Federal forces had reached the Rappahannock, and at Kelly's Ford, where the Confederate picket was not strong enough to oppose them, the passage of the river was effected. At the railroad-bridge, Early's division was posted to prevent their crossing. Two brigades were thrown forward to the north side of the river, in a strong position, where it was supposed they would be enabled to hold their ground, assisted by the

Confederate guns posted on the Southern bank. Late in the evening, this little force found itself attacked by Sedgwick's entire corps. The darkness of the night made it impossible to see the movements of the enemy. A high wind deadened the sound of their approach, and the fear of injuring their own men prevented the artillery from rendering any assistance.

The Confederates, unable to withstand the overwhelming charge, many of them were captured, one hundred killed and wounded, the rest escaping in the darkness and confusion by swimming the river.

General Meade now advanced and took up his old position on the Rappahannock, and General Lee soon after retired behind the Rapidan, as he was not prepared to risk a general engagement. He strongly intrenched himself; his right on the Rapidan at Morton's Ford, and his left on Mine Run, a small stream running at right angles to the Rappahannock.

Learning that some of the lower fords of the Rapidan had been left uncovered, General Meade resolved, in the latter part of November, to make an effort to get in Lee's rear and cut off his communications with Richmond.

Rumors of these contemplated movements reaching Lee, preparations were speedily made to resist them.

The following order was issued in contemplation of a general advance on the part of the enemy:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
"November 26, 1863.

"GENERAL ORDER, No. 102.

"The enemy is again advancing upon our capital, and the country once more looks to this army for its protection. Under the blessings of God, your valor has repelled every previous attempt, and invoking the continuance of His favor, we cheerfully submit to Him the issue of the coming conflict.

"A cruel enemy seeks to reduce our fathers and our mothers, our wives and our children, to abject slavery; to strip them of their property and drive them from their homes. Upon you these helpless ones rely to avert these terrible calamities, and secure to them the blessings of liberty and safety. Your past history gives them the assurance that their trust will not be in vain. Let every man remember that all he holds dear depends upon the faithful discharge of his duty, and resolve to fight, and, if need be, to die, in defence of a cause so sacred and worthy the name won by the army on so many bloody fields.

(Signed) R. E. LEE, General."

In an action at Germanna Ford, on the 27th, the Federal division of General French was repulsed with considerable loss. Bringing up the rest of his forces, Meade decided upon a general attack; but

on discovering the strength of Lee's position, abandoned his intention, after some slight skirmishing.

Finding that he had failed in surprising his adversary, and fearing that the winter season would overtake him away from his supplies, General Meade determined to withdraw his troops and retire to Brandy Station.

Early in December, both armies had gone into winter-quarters, — Meade on the Rappahannock; Lee on the old line of the Rapidan.

CHAPTER XXII.

Privations of the Army — Incidents at Headquarters — General Lee's Letter to the City Council of Richmond — An Address to the Army — The Dahlgren Raid.

GENERAL Lee found himself in the winter of '63–64 much embarrassed with the question of subsistence for his troops. Corn meal, and that in very insufficient quantities, with four ounces of fat pork each day, came to be the only rations. He made repeated representations to the Commissary Department and in other quarters, and at one time wrote to the President that he "feared he would not be able to keep the troops in the field."

Another evil making itself alarmingly apparent, was the decrease in the army itself. Poorly fed and

scantily clothed, desertions became numerous. The conscription had failed to fill the ranks, and it was apparent that the Government had committed an error in not enlisting troops for the war.

General Lee shared the privations of his men. His ordinary allowance for the mess-table during this period consisted of "a head of cabbage boiled in salt water, and a 'pone' of corn bread." Meat was eaten only twice a week.

An amusing anecdote is related by one of his officers. "General Lee having one day invited some gentlemen to dine with him, the negro servant was ordered to procure a dish of bacon and cabbage. The company arrived, and sat down before a large dish of cabbage, with a very small bit of middling in the centre—an island in a sea of cabbage. Upon being asked to partake of the unwonted delicacy, each guest politely declined, and the meat was carried away untasted. The following day at dinner, General Lee asked for the bacon, when the embarrassed servant, scratching his head, stammered out, 'De fac is, Marse Robert, dat ar midlin' was borrered midlin'; I done took it back to the man whar I got it from.'" *

* The same officer gives an instance of General Lee's love of a joke, in the following: "With all his grandeur of character, his simplicity was almost childlike, and his relish of a joke hearty. To illustrate this, our old friend, Mrs. F., living about a mile from our headquarters, sent me one day a demijohn of buttermilk, which, knowing his fondness for it, I directed Bryan, our factotum, to take

Temperate and abstemious at all times, it is related of him by one of his staff, referring to days of greater plenty, that "frequently, when a particularly nice piece of beef, or of mutton, of which he was especially fond, was on the table, and he was asked to partake further, he would decline, saying: 'I should really enjoy another piece, but I have had my allowance.'"

It is these little things which exhibit character, and from them may be presaged the exercise of the same virtues in the greater affairs of life.

The following letter was written about this time:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
"November 12, 1863.

"To the PRESIDENT OF THE CITY COUNCIL, Richmond, Va.

"SIR:—My attention has been directed to a resolution reported in the newspapers as having been introduced into the body over which you preside,

to the General's tent, with Mrs. F.'s compliments. At twelve o'clock, our usual lunch hour, the General had the demijohn brought out and put on the table with drinking-vessels, and then summoned the gentlemen of his staff. Seeing a *demijohn*, all imagined it to be a present of fine old brandy or wine, of which rarity we were invited to partake, especially when the General ceremoniously said to the servant, 'Bryan, help the gentlemen, Colonel —— first,' (who he knew never drank buttermilk.) The eager expectation visible in each countenance was as much enjoyed by the General, as was the disappointment expressed when each tasted his cup; the wry faces made by some of the guests provoking a hearty laugh from the host."

having for its object the purchase, by the city of Richmond, of a house for the use of my family.

"I assure you, sir, that no want of appreciation of the honor conferred upon me by this resolution, or insensibility to the kind feelings which prompted it, induces me to ask, as I most respectfully do, that no further proceedings be taken with reference to the subject. The house is not necessary to the use of my family, and my own duties will prevent my residence in Richmond.

"I should, therefore, be compelled to decline the generous offer, and trust that whatever means the City Council may have to spare for this purpose may be devoted to the relief of the families of our soldiers in the field, who are more in want of assistance and more deserving of it than myself.

"I have the honor to be, most respectfully,

"Your ob't serv't,

"R. E. Lee, General."

It was at this time of suffering and privation that General Lee issued the following order to his dispirited troops:

"Headquarters Army of Northern Virginia,

"January 22, 1864.

"General Order, No. 7.

"The Commanding General considers it due to the army to state that the temporary reduction of rations has been caused by circumstances beyond the control of those charged with its support. Its welfare and comfort are the objects of his constant and earnest solicitude, and no effort has been spared

to provide for its wants. It is hoped that the exertions now being made will render the necessity of short duration; but the history of the army has shown that the country can require no sacrifice too great for its patriotic devotion.

"Soldiers! you tread with no unequal steps the road by which your fathers marched through suffering, privation, and blood to independence!

"Continue to emulate in the future, as you have in the past, their valor in arms, their patient endurance of hardships, their high resolve to be free, which no trial could shake, no bribe seduce, no danger appall; and be assured that the just God, who crowned their efforts with success, will, in his own good time, send down his blessing upon yours.

"R. E. Lee, General."

In order to fill up the ranks, General Lee issued an order offering furloughs to all who would procure an able-bodied recruit. About this time also several additional cavalry brigades were organized at his suggestion.

In the latter part of January an expedition against Richmond was planned by B. F. Butler, then in command of a force on the Peninsula. In order to insure a surprise, attention was to be drawn from Richmond by a feint against Lee from the main army. The raiding force set out; but finding the approaches to Richmond more securely guarded than they had supposed, they fell back to the Peninsula. The movement resulted in the loss of two

hundred and fifty men, without any compensating gain.

In February, another attempt was made against Richmond, with designs of such a nature as will ever make it an anomaly in the history of civilized warfare. From written documents found on the person of Colonel Dahlgren, the officer second in command, the object was discovered to be the liberation of the prisoners at Belle Isle, and, with their assistance, the destruction of the town by fire, and the murder of the President and Cabinet. General Kilpatrick, the officer in command of the whole force, was to advance with a portion of the cavalry on the north side of the city, taking the road by the Brook Tavern. Colonel Dahlgren was to march with another detachment through Goochland County; while General Custer made a feint upon Charlottesville for the purpose of covering the real object of the expedition. Custer, finding Stuart's horse artillery near Charlottesville, retreated to Madison Court-House. Kilpatrick, after he had arrived within a short distance of the line of fortifications around Richmond, suddenly turned aside and took the road to the Peninsula. Thus Dahlgren was left unsupported. Expecting to be joined by Kilpatrick, he marched to within four miles of Richmond. Here he was met by a small force of militia, composed of the department clerks and laborers in the Government works. Confident of repulsing raw recruits

with his picked men, he charged upon them, but was met by such a steady fire that he did not renew the attack. He decided to retreat, but becoming separated, with about a hundred men, from the rest of his party, he came upon another detachment of Confederates, composed partly of regulars, partly of home-guards. The news of the raid, and the peril of the city, having spread throughout the district, this force had been hastily collected to cut off the retreat of the Federal cavalry. A skirmish ensued, in which Dahlgren was shot and mortally wounded; the rest of the party, after a few shots, fled in confusion. Eighty surrendered the following day, finding escape impossible.

Thus ended the "Dahlgren Raid," one of the saddest events of the war, when we consider the high social position, refined education, and gentle manners of the young man, hardly over twenty, to whom was confided so cruel a purpose. The authenticity of the Dahlgren papers was afterwards denied by the father of Colonel Dahlgren, but their genuineness was clearly proved in the investigations made by the Confederate authorities at the time.*

Richmond breathed freely after her escape from this great peril. Had not Kilpatrick retreated when he did, thus affording time for the organization of a force in her defence, the 1st of March would have witnessed the doom of the devoted city.

* "Lost Cause," p. 504.

The following general order was issued by General Lee in the latter part of March:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
"March 30, 1864.

"GENERAL ORDER, No. 23.

"In compliance with the recommendations of the Senate and House of Representatives, his Excellency the President has issued his proclamation, calling upon the people to set apart Friday, the 8th of April, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer.

"The Commanding General invites the army to join in the observance of the day. He directs due preparations to be made in all departments, to anticipate the wants of the several commands, so that it may be strictly observed. All military duties, except such as are absolutely necessary, will be suspended. The chaplains are desired to hold services in their regiments and brigades. The officers and men are requested to attend.

"Soldiers! let us humble ourselves before the Lord, our God, asking, through Christ, the forgiveness of our sins, beseeching the aid of the God of our forefathers in the defence of our homes and our liberties, thanking Him for his past blessings, and imploring their continuance upon our cause and our people.

"R. E. LEE, General."

CHAPTER XXIII.

Grant takes Command of the Army of the Potomac — His Advance — The Battle of the Wilderness — Longstreet Wounded.

THE long winter had passed away. With the early spring days came rumors of the tremendous exertions being made by the Northern Government for the approaching campaign. Supplies of all sorts had been lavishly distributed. Heavy bounties had enabled the authorities to procure recruits without difficulty, which, with the draft, had combined to swell the Army of the Potomac to a total of a hundred and forty thousand men. The command of this immense force had, in March, been conferred upon Major-General Grant, an officer who had won great reputation in the West. His career promised to be more successful than that of his predecessors, as he was personally and politically acceptable to the Administration; and being possessed of great energy and perseverance, he had been enabled hitherto to attain that success which is with the multitude the test of genius.

He had another advantage over General McClellan and others, in that he commanded experienced veterans instead of raw recruits, and that the opposing army had lost strength, and was no longer full of the prestige of success.

His policy was to destroy his adversary by "continuous hammering," rather than to manœuvre, a policy which could only be maintained by a commander who had unlimited means to draw from, and no scruples as to the sacrifice of life it entailed.

By the application of this style of warfare he hoped to wear out, by "attrition," the opponent whose superior generalship he could not expect to rival.*

General Lee realized, as few others did, the magnitude of the odds against him. His whole force did not exceed fifty thousand men, and he could hope for no reinforcements until the last of May.

The gravity and importance of the struggle had impressed itself in ever deepening lines on the minds of the people.

In an address signed by the "wives, daughters, sisters, and friends" of the Confederate soldiers, they were admonished for their "stricken country's sake," to be true to themselves and their "glorious cause."

Inspired by a like patriotism, the veterans of Lee made ready for the coming battle.

General Lee's army occupied a strong position, which it was not probable the enemy would attack

* "Lee's army," said a Northern writer, referring to it at this time, "is an army of veterans; it is an instrument sharpened to a perfect edge. You turn its flank; well, its flanks are made to be turned. This effects little or nothing. All that we reckon as gained, therefore, is the loss of life inflicted on the enemy."

in front. His right, on the Rapidan near Somerville Ford, extended along the river for three miles, and was held by Ewell. Hill's troops were stretched out on either side of Orange Court-House. The Confederate left was at Gordonsville held by Longstreet. The line was a long one, but the army could be easily concentrated upon any threatened point.

On the 3d of May the Federal army moved from its encampment, crossing the Rapidan at Ely's and Germanna fords, for the purpose of attacking Lee's right and forcing him to retreat to the South Anna.

Finding that his passage of the river had not been disputed, General Grant supposed that General Lee was falling back, as he intended he should, to preserve his communications. Grant then hoped, by masking his movements, to traverse the Wilderness and give battle in the open country beyond. But General Lee had determined not to retreat; on the contrary, he meant to make Grant fight in the Wilderness.* Ewell's and Hill's corps were moved forward, the one by the turnpike, the other by the plank road, and Longstreet at the same time was ordered to march from Gordonsville, on the right

* "To foil his adversary's design was Lee's first aim. The plan he formed to effect this is one of the boldest and most skilful conceptions of that officer. Instead of falling back, on finding his flank turned, he took a strategic offensive, directed a rapid concentration of his forces to meet Grant, and aimed to shut Grant up in the Wilderness."

of Ewell, to strike the front of the enemy's advancing columns.

Unaware of Lee's designs, Grant made his preparations, and the Federal troops were rapidly pushed forward. Warren, who was in the advance, marching by the Germanna Road, rested, on the night of the 4th, within three miles of Ewell, who, in advance of Hill, had reached a position on the Orange Road very near the point where the road from Germanna Ford intersects it.

On the morning of the 5th of May, the Federal troops prepared to continue their march, but were soon made aware of the proximity of the Confederates. General Grant, not doubting that this was the rear-guard of Lee, whom he supposed in full retreat, threw forward three divisions to clear the road.

The ground was the tangled wilderness which had been the theatre of war the previous spring, and all movements were necessarily slow and difficult. To leave the roads was to leave behind all visible land-marks, and to trust to the compass alone for guidance. So thick were the forests, that it was impossible for a regimental commander to see the whole of his line at once. The Confederates had the advantage of being familiar with the country; and General Lee moreover had the further advantage of what position there was, as he had chosen the field.

About noon, the assault was made. At the intersection of the roads, the Federal artillery was planted, and poured a heavy fire into the Confederate lines. The Federals pressed steadily forward in spite of a sharp musketry-fire from the Confederates, and succeeded in breaking through the lines where they crossed the turnpike. General J. M. Jones's brigade, which held this position, was forced back in confusion, and their gallant commander fell mortally wounded while vainly endeavoring to rally his men. At this moment General George H. Steuart moved his brigade forward, the men rushing with cheers into the gap, pressed back the Federals in turn, and captured their guns. Rodes's brigade was now ordered forward to their assistance.

Gordon, with two brigades, charging the enemy on the right, drove them in confusion a distance of a mile and a half, capturing a whole regiment with their officers.

Somewhat later, an attack was made on the Confederate left. This too was repulsed, and the enemy driven half a mile or more. The troops were now recalled by Ewell to their original line, to await the arrival of A. P. Hill.

At one time during the day General Lee was in great danger. While the fighting on Ewell's line was going on, General Hill and himself, having arrived in advance of Hill's troops, were standing in conversation in a somewhat exposed position. A

Federal scouting party came within two hundred yards of them, but, alarmed at discovering themselves in the Southern lines, retired in haste without firing a shot.

Communications were opened with Ewell as soon as Hill's lines were formed. The troops extending through the woods covered the two roads — the Orange Plank Road and Old Turnpike. The Federal army occupied the thicket in front, Hancock's lines extending along the Brock Road in a southerly direction.

Grant being now fully aware that he had before him the entire army of Lee, instead of the small force that he had at first supposed, ordered a general attack at four o'clock.

Hill met the troops of Hancock with a well directed fire, and stubbornly resisted all the efforts of the Federal masses to break through his lines.

"The assaults," in General Lee's words, "were repeated and desperate, but every one was repulsed."

At nightfall the attack terminated. The Confederates had been successful at every point; but the great battle was to come.

At five o'clock on the morning of the 6th, General Longstreet came up. He had arrived within ten miles of the battle-field on the evening before, but owing to the thick woods intervening, did not hear the firing, and was unaware of the engagement.

General Lee had determined to assume the offen-

sive, and was only waiting for his "old war-horse," as he termed Longstreet, to relieve Hill, and to open the battle. But before this could be effected, General Grant, who had also resolved to attack, threw a heavy force upon Hill's front, just as the troops were falling back to give place to Longstreet's corps. They were thus taken at a disadvantage, and were pressed back within a few hundred yards of General Lee's headquarters. Longstreet formed his line as promptly as possible, threw forward Kershaw's division to stem the enemy's advance, and at length bringing up his whole corps, after a severe contest, succeeded in driving them back and regaining Hill's former position. This was only accomplished after long and heavy fighting, as Grant had massed his best troops for this charge, confident of breaking through Lee's line. But for the timely arrival of Longstreet, he might have achieved his purpose.

At eleven o'clock, General Lee, having frustrated Grant's design, prepared to put into execution his own plan of a flank movement against the enemy's left. His object was to seize the Brock Road, which would shut Grant up in the Wilderness, and force him to retreat to the Rapidan.

Longstreet, with a few select brigades, had charge of this movement. Pressing impetuously forward, he drove the enemy in confusion before him, bending back his line upon itself, routing whole divi-

sions, and seemed just about to grasp the object of his wishes. As he spurred forward to lead his troops in person to the crowning achievement, he was halted by General Jenkins, of South Carolina, for some words of complimentary greeting. At this moment they were fired upon by some of his own troops, concealed in the bushes, who mistook them for a party of the flying foe. Too late they discovered their mistake; the well-directed fire had done its fatal work. General Jenkins fell dead, and Longstreet was borne to the rear, with a bullet-hole in his throat, the ball having passed out through his right shoulder. The wound was not mortal, but it had disabled him at a critical moment.

A second time in the thickets of the Wilderness had Lee's *right hand* been struck down by a Confederate bullet, just in the crisis of a great design. It was, at least, a singular coincidence.

The delay occasioned by this unfortunate accident gave the enemy the opportunity they desired. Heavy reinforcements were hurried to the threatened point, and the Brock Road was strongly guarded. At length, when General Lee was ready to renew the charge, the troops that had given way before Longstreet were replaced by fresh masses.

For an hour they resisted stubbornly the Confederate attack, but the latter finally prevailed. The Federal troops were driven back upon their log

breastworks. These at the same time taking fire, the scene became one of unexampled grandeur and fury.

The Confederates planted their colors upon the enemy's position, many of the Federal troops having retreated as far as Chancellorsville. A portion of Hancock's force afterwards rallied and regained possession of their abandoned breastworks, when darkness soon afterwards terminated the contest.

General Ewell, on the left, after repeatedly repelling the attacks of Sedgwick, at length ordered General Gordon to assail the Federal line. He drove them in confusion for a distance of two miles, capturing Brigadier-Generals Seymour and Shales, with a greater portion of their commands. But the tangled undergrowth impeded his progress, and in the gathering twilight, becoming separated from his supports, he was forced to return. With a larger command this brilliant exploit would, doubtless, have resulted in the entire rout of the Federal right wing.

The losses in the battles of the *Wilderness* were, on the Confederate side, one thousand killed and six thousand wounded, making a total of seven thousand. The Federal loss greatly exceeded this, amounting in all, killed, wounded, and captured, to *twenty thousand men.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

"By the left Flank" — The Battles at Spottsylvania Court-House — Sheridan's Raid — Death of Stuart.

ON the following day, May 7th, General Grant took up his march for Spottsylvania Court-House. He had become convinced that it was impossible to drive General Lee from his front; yet, though foiled in his first plan, he still hoped to place himself between Lee and Richmond.

The latter, Lee, had divined this movement, and that night General Anderson, who commanded Longstreet's corps, was ordered to march to the Court-House, where it was soon followed by the rest of the army.

Warren's corps, forming the advance of the Federal troops, was checked and impeded in its progress by Fitz-Lee's cavalry. Supposing Longstreet's men to be a portion of the dismounted cavalry, his column pushed on, when a heavy fire from the Confederate line caused them to recoil in confusion. Another attempt was made, after the whole corps had come up, to break through the Confederate line, but without success.

Later in the evening the 6th corps arrived; and attacking Ewell before he had brought up his whole line, drove him back a short distance, capturing

some of his men, but suffering more loss than they inflicted.

On the morning of the 9th, both armies were concentrated, the Confederates on the south bank of the river Po, enclosing in their lines Spottsylvania Court-House; the Federals on the north bank of the river.

General Grant had been a second time out-generalled. Though both armies marched by roads of nearly equal length, General Lee had succeeded in gaining the position his adversary coveted. Grant had only the alternative of fighting him where he was, or marching on further by the left flank to "manœuvre" him into abandoning his position. But as his policy was "never to manœuvre," he prepared to give battle.

General Lee had thrown up earthworks, and was protected also by the dense undergrowth. His right, occupied by Longstreet's corps, extended from the river towards the Court-House in a northerly direction. Ewell held the centre, and Hill the left.

Hancock held the right of the Federal line, Warren the centre, and Burnside the left.

On the evening of the 9th, Hancock was sent across the river to intercept some Confederate wagon-trains, but darkness coming on, they reached the protection of the Southern line unobserved. While recrossing his command, May 10th, one of

Hancock's divisions was assailed by a portion of Hill's corps, and driven some distance, losing heavily, but at length regaining its position.

At the same time, General Warren made an attack upon the division of General Field, belonging to Longstreet's corps, and was driven back after twelve assaults.*

Hancock uniting with Warren at five o'clock, the attack was renewed, and the fighting became heavy and desperate. At length the Federal troops had gained the breastworks on the extreme left, but they did not hold them long. The Confederates dislodged and drove them back, repelling another charge made just before nightfall with equal gallantry. This ended the attack on the Confederate left.

The 6th corps assailed Ewell's left, succeeded in breaking through the divisions of General Rodes, and captured nine hundred of his men, with six pieces of artillery. But Rodes finally recovered his line, driving the enemy back and recapturing his guns.

* "The men struggled bravely against an impossible task, and even entered the enemy's breastworks at one or two points; but they soon wavered and fell back in confusion and great slaughter. Notwithstanding the disastrous upshot of this assault, the experience of which had taught the troops that the work assigned them was really hopeless, a second charge was ordered an hour after the failure of the first. The repulse of this was even more complete than that of the former effort; and the loss in the two attacks was between five and six thousand, while it is doubtful whether the enemy lost as many hundreds." — *Swinton.*

This affair, simultaneous with the combined attack on Hill, closed the day's engagement.

Hitherto, Grant's principal efforts having been directed toward General Lee's left, the latter withdrew his forces from other points to strengthen what seemed likely to be the main point of attack.

But General Grant had discovered the centre to be the most assailable part of the line. Here projected a portion of the works forming what was called the "Horse Shoe." It was a salient thrown out to protect a hill in front, in order to keep the enemy from occupying it with their artillery.

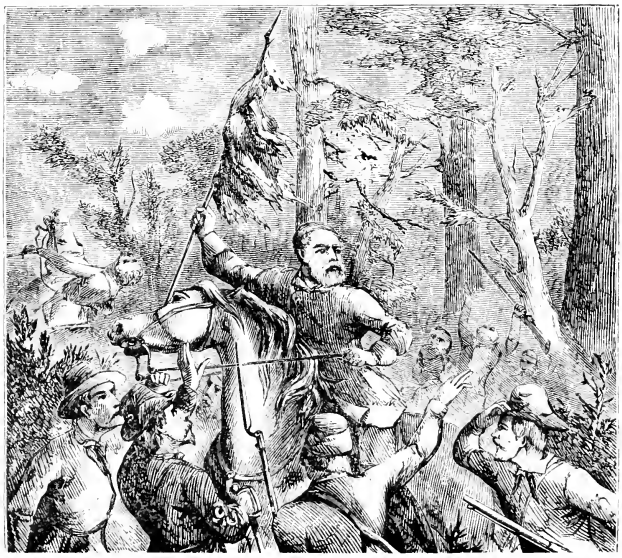
The whole of the 11th was spent by General Grant in disposing his troops for an assault on this point. Hancock's corps was to make the attack, supported by the remainder of the army.

By daybreak on the morning of the 12th the attack commenced. Through some misapprehension of orders, the artillery had been removed the night before, and the Confederate infantry, General Edward Johnson's division, received unsupported the charge of the assailing column.

They resisted with desperate bravery, struggling hand-to-hand in the trenches. The contest was fierce but of short duration. The cheers of the enemy soon proclaimed that they had accomplished their object. Before Johnson could be reinforced, the Horse Shoe was in possession of the assailants. General Johnson, with over three thousand of his

men, was captured, together with twenty-five guns, hurried to the spot too late to be of use.

Pressing on, Hancock was now confident of breaking through the whole line and driving apart the two wings of Lee's army; but Ewell had promptly thrown forward the remainder of his corps, and the advance of the Federal force was stayed. Grant now ordered an attack on the Confederate right and left, thinking Lee must have greatly weakened them to meet with such firmness the formidable assault of his troops in their front. But at these points also the charge was met and repelled with vigor.



"Lee to the Rear."

The battle lasted through the entire day. At night General Lee, though he had not been able to recover the position lost from Johnson, had resisted every attempt to break through his interior line, and Grant was forced to acknowledge that the advantage gained did not prove decisive.*

* A remarkable incident occurred in the battles around Spottsylvania Court-House, which is narrated in the following correspondence:

"ANNAPOLIS, Dec. 4, 1865.

"MY DEAR SIR: — Our acquaintance in former years was so slight that I hardly feel justified in taking the liberty of addressing a letter to you. Still I will venture to do so, that I may make inquiry about the truth of an incident, an account of which was published during the war, and which impressed me more at the time than any of the numerous and touching events of that period.

"It was stated in substance that during the battle of the Wilderness, or of Spottsylvania, in the early part of the engagement, the Confederates were unable to resist the advance of the Federal forces, and were compelled to fall back. Regarding the consequences of a disaster at this juncture of affairs as so important and fatal, you ordered either General Gregg or General Gordon to check this advance, declaring, in the presence of your men, your purpose to lead the movement in person. The line was accordingly immediately formed for this purpose, and was about to advance upon the opposing enemy, when, as the account went, *a grim, ragged private*, from the ranks of a Texas regiment, stepped in front, and, in an earnest and determined manner, protested against such an act on your part, and declared his unwillingness to move an inch until you should retire to your proper position in the rear, promising, at the same time, if you did so, to repulse your enemy at all hazards; and that thereupon the whole line assumed the same attitude, and you were thus virtually forced to retire, but only to witness, in a few moments afterwards, the triumphant fulfilment of the promise in the complete discomfiture of your enemy.

"This account first appeared in an English paper, and, strange to say, was republished, as far as my knowledge goes, in only one of our papers (the New York Sun), and which, unfortunately, I did not preserve, and therefore am unable to send you the account itself.

"May I take the liberty of asking whether this account be true

The losses in this engagement amounted, on the Confederate side, to only seven thousand, while the enemy's had been eighteen thousand.

"Thus," says a Southern historian, "without decisive results — certainly without any appreciable advantage on the Northern side — had been fought a series of battles such as had never been compressed into so many days in the history of man, and such as had never before been exhibited by a single army contending against an adversary more than three times its numbers." *

in whole or in part, in order that, if true, I may preserve to history your own version of one of the most striking and impressive incidents, in my judgment, of the war — one, more than all others, which exemplifies the spirit and genius of the Southern people in the great struggle through which they passed.

"At your leisure I should be very glad to hear from you, and beg to subscribe myself, with great respect,

"Your friend and obedient servant,

"JOHN THOMSON MASON."

"General ROBERT E. LEE."

(ANSWER.)

"LEXINGTON, VA., Dec. 7, 1865.

"MY DEAR SIR: — I regret that my occupations are such as to prevent me from writing *at present* a narrative of the event which you request in your letter of the 4th instant.

"The account you give is substantially correct. General Gordon was the officer. It occurred in the battles around Spottsylvania Court-House.

"With great respect, your friend and servant,

"R. E. LEE."

"Hon. JOHN THOMSON MASON."

* An eloquent Northern historian says: "Of all the struggles of the war this was, perhaps, the fiercest and most deadly. Frequently, throughout the conflict, so close was the contest that the rival standards were planted on opposite sides of the breastworks. The enemy's most savage sallies were directed to retake the famous

General Grant now called for *reinforcements*, and while awaiting them, remained a week in front of Lee, looking for a weak point in his adversary's firm lines, an unguarded pause in his vigilant watch, to see if it were possible to risk another blow.

At the end of that time he had decided to march to the Chickahominy, reaching "by a monstrous circuit," (strewn with battle-fields, which had cost him an army in itself, forty thousand men,) "a point where, ascending the waters of Virginia, he might have landed at the very beginning of the campaign without loss or opposition."

In connection with the movement upon Spottsylvania Court-House had occurred a raid by Sheridan's cavalry toward Richmond.

Crossing the South Anna River, they destroyed the railroad, and were about to burn Ashland when Stuart came up. On the 10th of May, at Yellow Tavern, near Ashland, a fight occurred, and the great cavalry leader was mortally wounded * while leading his men to the charge.

salient, which was now become an angle of death, and presented a spectacle ghastly and terrible. On the Confederate side of the works lay many corpses of those who had been bayoneted by Hancock's men when they first leaped the intrenchments. To these were constantly added the bravest of those who, in the assaults to recapture the position, fell at the margin of the works, till the ground was literally covered with piles of dead, and the woods in front of the salient were one hideous Golgotha."

* He died on the same day of the same month with Stonewall Jackson.

Stuart had been called the Prince Rupert of the South. Fond of adventure, and full of reckless daring, he was yet the true cavalier in every gentle and chivalric virtue, of a blameless life and unaffected piety, and possessing a military genius unsurpassed in his own branch of the service, he stands with Lee and Jackson in the great triumvirate of Virginian heroes.

CHAPTER XXV.

Skirmishing on the North Anna — On to the Chickahominy — The Second Battle of Cold Harbor.

ON the 23d of May, General Grant arriving at the North Anna River, found Lee again confronting him. He had marched by a shorter route from the Court-House, as soon as it was evident that Grant designed moving in this direction, and was now established in a very strong position.

Two miles back of the river lay Hanover Junction, where the Fredericksburg and Richmond, and the Virginia Central railroads intersected.

General Lee's right extended to Hanover Junction, his left to Little River. His centre was at Oxford Mills, close to the river; the two wings thrown back, gave to his line the form of the two

sides of an equilateral triangle. Both flanks were protected by marshes, and also strongly intrenched.

General Grant resolved to cross his two wings, thinking by this movement to compel his adversary to leave the river. His right, under Warren, was ordered to make the passage at Jericho Ford; and Hancock, on the left, had instructions to cross at the Telegraph bridge, about six miles from the former point. The Telegraph bridge was guarded by a small force, which offered but slight resistance. At Jericho Ford there was no guard; but after Warren had crossed, he was met by A. P. Hill before reaching the Central railroad, and his advance checked. Grant had been suffered to accomplish his object. His two army corps were on the south side of the river; but General Lee showed no disposition to retire. He had planned his position with consummate skill. Grant was lured over the river only to find himself in a trap. His two wings were separated, cut off from all communications south of the river, and should the Confederates mass their forces for an attack on either the right or left, the other would be totally powerless to render any assistance.*

To extricate himself from this dangerous situation, General Grant ordered General Burnside to make an attack upon Lee's centre, and drive him

*A Northern historian says: "The game of war seldom presents a more effectual checkmate than was here given by Lee."

back. He succeeded in crossing one division at Oxford Mills, but they met with such a rough reception, that it was speedily withdrawn. An attempt made by Warren to communicate with Burnside resulted in similar discomfiture.

Failing in these efforts, he prudently resolved to recross his troops, withdraw from the North Anna, and continue his flanking march.

General Lee was indeed master of the situation. If he had been strong enough to assume the offensive, he might have made it no easy matter for Grant to resume his former position.

But returning unmolested to the north bank of the river, General Grant pushed on to the Pamunkey, where he would have but a short march to the Chickahominy, which, if he could place between himself and Lee, would put Richmond within his grasp.

On the 28th the Federal army had arrived at Hanovertown, where they made the passage of the Pamunkey.

But Lee, prompt to forestall his adversary's plans, as soon as it was known that the Federal army had marched to the Pamunkey, ordered Ewell forward to intercept their advance to the Chickahominy, and soon concentrating all his forces on the banks of the Tottapotomoi, prepared to contest their further progress. Sheridan, in the meanwhile, in command of the Federal cavalry, had been sent to

destroy the Central Railroad. He was met by Fitz Lee and driven to his supports, when the latter fell back toward Richmond.

Several days of skirmishing and manœuvring for position preceded the great struggle, which was to take place on the old battle-field of '62, and to be known as the "*Second Battle of Cold Harbor.*"

Both armies had been reinforced. Grant by sixteen thousand men from Butler's force on the Peninsula; Lee by Breckinridge with two thousand men, and the divisions of Hoke and Pickett, making his whole force about forty-four thousand men. General Lee, profiting by his previous knowledge of the ground, gained in the campaign of 1862, was careful to secure good positions for his troops.

On the 2d of June both armies were in line of battle. The Confederates held the ground occupied by McClellan in '62, the Federals the old line of the Confederates. Lee's left under Ewell was at Atlee's Station; his right under Breckinridge, with a part of Hill's corps, held the Cold Harbor ridge.

At dawn on the morning of the 3d, Grant opened the attack with a charge along the whole line. Hancock assailed Breckinridge on the Confederate right, and succeeded in driving him from a salient in his line, capturing a number of prisoners and several guns. But immediately rallying, Breckinridge soon re-established his line. The Florida brigade and Maryland battalion contending with

the enemy in a desperate encounter, drove them back after a short struggle from the works they had gained. Seven times in the short space of thirty minutes the attack was renewed, and each time Hancock was repulsed with heavy loss.

Ewell, on the left, was attacked by Warren and Burnside, but with little vigor, and easily repulsed the enemy.

The contest had been decided in half an hour, between the hours of eleven and twelve.* The Southern loss was not quite twelve hundred; the Federal loss had been something terrible, not less than *thirteen thousand* men.

This enormous disproportion was in a measure due to the fact that the Confederates fought behind breastworks.

In the afternoon, General Grant, wishing to renew the attack, gave orders to the corps commanders to be transmitted to their subordinates; but when the orders reached the men, they refused to advance.

They felt that they were called upon for a useless sacrifice of life. "No man stirred, and the immobile lines pronounced a verdict, silent, yet emphatic,

* "It took hardly more than ten minutes of the figment men call time to decide the battle. There was along the whole line a rush — the spectacle of impregnable works — a bloody loss — then a sullen falling back, and the action was *decided.* . . . . . .

"The troops went forward 'as far as the example of their officers could carry them,' nor was it possible to urge them beyond: for there they knew lay only death, without even a chance of victory." — SWINTON: *Army of the Potomac.*

against further slaughter." The battle had been decisive, and with it closed the overland campaign. On the 6th General Grant had determined to retire south of the James, and besiege Richmond from this direction.

He had been foiled in every successive attack by his wary antagonist, and had proved by the *reductio ad absurdum* argument, as Swinton observes, the futility of the "hammering" mode of warfare unaccompanied by manœuvring. Lee's successes were the triumphs of military art over brute force. Tactical skill, which availed him so well in this campaign against the pressure of mere numbers, when, as at Cold Harbor, "the army of the Potomac lost at least twenty men to Lee's one," was yet to achieve much in the new field of operations. It was competent for great results, as the prolonged and skilful defence of Petersburg was to testify. That it was invincible, when all other supports failed, when forbidden to shift his quarters, but at bay behind breastworks, with the encircling legions of "the Hammerer" fast closing in upon his communications, he knew was a fatal delusion. But the Confederacy believed otherwise; they had the most implicit faith that all was safe as long as he was in command of the army. Accustomed to see him succeed with small means in foiling his enemies, they forgot he was mortal and could not always command success, however he might deserve it.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Operations in the Valley — Hunter's Raid — His Cruelty — Butler's Advance from Bermuda Hundreds — Battle of Drewry's Bluff — Grant crosses the James — Attempt to take Petersburg by Surprise — Commencement of the Siege.

THE programme of General Grant, at the commencement of the spring campaign, had embraced two other movements, in connection with the advance of the main army; the one having for its object the capture of Lynchburg in southwestern Virginia; the other, under Butler, looking to co-operation with Grant from the Peninsula.

In May, Sigel had been defeated at New Market by General Breckinridge, but the latter was soon afterwards recalled to General Lee's army, leaving the forces of Hunter, who had succeeded Sigel, with only the small command of General Wm. E. Jones to oppose their progress.

On the 5th of June he was met at Piedmont by the Confederates, who were overpowered by superior numbers. The gallant General Jones lost his life while cheering on his men, and half of his small force were made prisoners.

Continuing his march, Hunter passed through Lexington, setting fire to the Military Institute and the dwelling of ex-governor Letcher.

On the 16th, he had reached Lynchburg. His

march was marked by ruin and outrage, lighted by the glare of burning houses. As he had declared, he warred upon the *women** of Virginia, so he spared no opportunity of laying waste their homesteads, and destroying their means of subsistence.

General Lee lost no time in sending a portion of his army to the relief of Lynchburg. Ewell's corps, under the command of General Early, was detached for this service. Before Hunter had completed his preparations for assault, Early had arrived with a portion of his corps. The attack was made on the 18th, and repulsed. The remainder of the Confederate troops arriving, an advance upon Hunter ensued, and the latter was soon in full retreat. Early captured thirteen pieces of artillery and took a good many prisoners, forcing Hunter to retreat by a circuitous route, which left open the Valley, thus enabling Early to pass into Maryland.

The greatest damage done by Hunter was the destruction of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad

*When in the Roanoke Valley, he went with two soldiers to burn the house of a lady, whose crime was that she had harbored a Southern soldier. She pleaded for her children and herself, who would thus be left without protection and without shelter. "General," she said, "you do not war against women?" "It is the very thing I came to do, Madam. I intend to make the *women* feel this war. They are instigating and encouraging the men in 'rebellion,' and *they* shall suffer too." He then rode off, leaving the two men to carry out his orders; but the soldiers, more humane than their general, and moved by the tears of the poor lady, spared the house. This anecdote is given by a lady who was present at the time, and several others testify to his having used the same language to them in similar circumstances.

for the distance of a hundred and thirty-five miles, but it was repaired in sixty days.

On the south side, Butler, early in May, bringing up his troops from York River, landed at City Point, and threw up fortifications near Bermuda Hundreds.

The country between the Appomattox and the James was at this time very poorly defended. Petersburg contained but one regiment, and Drewry's Bluff was garrisoned by a very small force.

As soon as the Confederate Government was made aware that active operations might be expected in this quarter, measures were taken for its protection. General Beauregard was put in command of the defences of the south side. With him came all the troops that could be spared from Charleston, and the divisions of Hoke and Pickett were brought up from North Carolina.

Pickett arrived at Petersburg with his division on the same day that Butler landed at Bermuda Hundreds.

On the 6th, a skirmish occurred at Port Walthal Junction, about half-way between Petersburg and Drewry's Bluff, in which the enemy were driven back. Butler advanced again on the morning of the 7th, and was repulsed by Pickett's division at the same point. Pickett, in order to deceive the enemy with the idea that reinforcements were coming into Petersburg, ran the locomotives backwards

and forwards all night, but fortunately Butler did not attempt to occupy the town.

On the 9th, however, he proceeded with his whole force to Chester, on the railroad between Petersburg and Richmond, and dividing his army, with one-half facing Richmond, was about to move upon Petersburg with the other. At this juncture, a despatch from the Federal Government reached him that Grant was pressing Lee upon Richmond. Butler immediately abandoned his plan of attacking Petersburg, and turned all his thoughts upon Richmond.

Beauregard arrived on the 13th, and occupied a strong line in front of Drewry's Bluff. Butler following the Confederates to Drewry's Bluff, was permitted by Beauregard to occupy his outer line of works. Beauregard was anxious to draw him as far as possible from his gun-boats, and determined to strike a decisive blow, which, if successful, would have resulted in the destruction or surrender of his whole command.

On the morning of the 16th of May, under cover of a dense fog, General Beauregard made his attack. Butler's right was completely broken. The attack upon the other wing was not so successful, but the advantage gained was sufficient to have insured the destruction of Butler's army had it not been for the extraordinary inaction of General Whiting. This officer, who was in Butler's rear at

Port Walthal Junction with a large force, was ordered to throw forward his command across the neck of land between the two rivers, place himself upon the line of retreat, and cut Butler off from his base at Bermuda Hundreds. But General Whiting remained stationary at Port Walthal Junction, and thus prevented the execution of Beauregard's brilliant scheme.

During the night of the 16th, Butler withdrew his forces to Bermuda Hundreds. By the 1st of June his army "was as completely shut off from further operations directly against Richmond," in the forcible language of General Grant, "as if it had been in a bottle strongly corked."

On the 12th of June General Grant prepared to leave the Chickahominy on his march to the James, which he crossed at Wilcox's Landing on the 14th. General Lee was well informed as to his adversary's movements, but, in the absence of Early, did not deem it prudent to attempt to stop his progress. He proceeded to put his army in a position to cover Richmond, or to march to the defence of Petersburg, in case this should be the object of Grant's attack. Grant, it was soon apparent, had resolved upon surprising Petersburg, and gaining possession of it before Lee could send forward a sufficient force to resist him. General Smith was dispatched in advance of the main army to carry this plan into effect. About six miles from Petersburg he came

upon Confederate works, guarded by a small force of local militia, made up of men and boys of the town, under Captain Farinholt, who fought bravely. These works were soon taken; but advancing upon the fortifications nearer the city, he was surprised at their strong appearance, and, deceived by the steady fire of the Confederates, concluded that their force was much greater than he had been led to suppose.

Late in the evening an attack was made upon the outer line, and the Confederates, after repulsing three successive assaults, at length fell back to the inner works.

Beauregard, seeing the great danger to which Petersburg was exposed, detached the greater portion of his command from Butler's front to aid in its defence.

General Lee, who was advancing as rapidly as possible, found Butler menacing the railroads and already occupying Beauregard's deserted works. Anderson's corps hastened forward, and Pickett's division, dashing impetuously upon the enemy, drove him back to Bermuda Hundreds, and re-established Beauregard's line.

General Lee, not wishing to bring on a battle at this point, gave orders not to press the enemy, but to confine themselves to checking Butler's advance. But the gallant men of Pickett's division could not be held back.

"We tried very hard," wrote General Lee, in a complimentary despatch to the corps commander, "to stop Pickett's men from capturing the breastworks of the enemy, but could not do it."

The Federal General in front of Petersburg, in the meanwhile, contented himself with holding the works he had won, and awaited the arrival of Grant to renew the attack.

General Lee's advanced forces arrived in Petersburg on the night of the 15th. The Federals, reinforced by the arrival of the 9th corps, had assaulted the Confederate works that day about noon, and again driven in the besieged forces; but upon General Lee's arrival with fresh troops, the works were regained. The attack renewed on the 17th and 18th each time proved unsuccessful, Grant losing in these assaults ten thousand men.

It was plain that the "Cockade City" was no longer an easy prey, and Grant, becoming convinced that the city could not now be taken by direct assault, intrenched his army and prepared for a regular investment. In order to complete his operations, it was necessary to get possession of the Weldon Railroad, and a force was sent out for this purpose on the evening of the 21st.

General Lee ordered Mahone's division to cut them off, which was promptly done. Mahone falling upon them, captured several regiments and a battery of guns, returning to his position with equal celerity.

A cavalry party of the enemy was sent off about the same time for the purpose of getting possession of the railroads south of the Appomattox. After partly accomplishing their work, they were pursued by General W. H. F. Lee, and routed by General Hampton in an engagement on the 28th.

Besides a number of prisoners taken, all the artillery and trains, abandoned in their rapid retreat, fell into the hands of the Confederates.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Battle of the Crater — Terrible Carnage — Early's Advance into Maryland — Battle of Monocacy — In Sight of the Capitol — Early Retires to the Opequon.

AT this time, General Grant's able chief of artillery and of engineers pronounced an assault upon the defences of Petersburg "impracticable." These defences extended in a strong line east and south of the city, and far enough on the west to reach beyond the extreme left of the besieging army. North of the Appomattox similar works secured it against any attack from Butler.

There were frequent skirmishes between the opposing forces, but no event of any importance took place until the latter part of July, when occurred

what is known in the South as the battle of the *Crater*.

One of Burnside's officers had in June proposed a plan by which he deemed the city could be made an easy capture. This was to dig a mine under an angle of the Confederate works that extended within a hundred and fifty yards of the Federal line. The fort which occupied this angle destroyed by the explosion, a breach would be made through which a column of the assailants could rush upon the ridge beyond. A lodgment once secured, the reduction of the whole line would soon follow.

The work was planned and executed with the greatest secrecy. At length, on the 25th of July, the mine was ready. A tunnel five hundred feet in length conducted to the magazine, which was directly under the Confederate fort. In this were placed twelve thousand pounds of powder.

In order to divert suspicion, and to force General Lee to weaken the garrison at Petersburg, General Grant detached Hancock's corps to unite with Butler in a feint upon Richmond. General Lee sent off several divisions to meet this demonstration, and succeeded in pressing Hancock so heavily as to make it evident nothing was to be accomplished in this direction. At the same time, Grant, confident from the resistance offered to Hancock, that Lee had considerably reduced his numbers, ordered the former to return with the utmost secrecy on

the 29th, to take part in the great assault to be made the following day.

General Lee, though ignorant of the real state of affairs, was not deceived by the movement north of the James, and believed that it covered some design upon the lines in front of Petersburg.

At dawn on the morning of the 30th, this design suddenly unfolded itself. The Confederates were roused from sleep by a terrific explosion, which actually hurled the fort into the air. A chasm a hundred and fifty feet long, sixty-five feet wide, and twenty-five or thirty feet deep, filled the space where a moment before the Confederate works had been. Instantly, before the clouds of smoke and dust had subsided, the fire of the Federal artillery opening along the whole line, lent its terrors to the scene. A Federal corps, fifteen thousand strong, advanced quickly to the edge of the crater. It was expected they should gain the ridge before the Confederates could recover from their surprise and alarm. But they halted unaccountably; a sudden irresolution seized them. In the meanwhile, the men of Lee, quick to recover their self-possession, brought up guns and formed in line. Mahone's division was ordered forward to meet the assailants, but the latter, after one feeble charge, fell back into the fatal pit, upon which the Confederate guns poured a destructive fire. Afraid to advance, and hesitating to encounter the almost certain destruc-

tion which awaited them if they attempted to cross the open space which lay between the pit and their own lines, the demoralized and panic-stricken foe, black and white commingled, trampled one another down in this cavern of death.

So terrible was the carnage created by the Confederate guns, that General Mahone is reported to have turned away, saying, "Stop the fire; it makes me sick."

In this "miserable affair," as General Grant afterwards termed it, the Federal loss was four thousand, while the Confederate loss had been but a few hundreds.

A singular verdict was afterwards rendered by the Congressional Committee, convened to pronounce judgment on this affair of the mine. "*The first and great cause of disaster was the employment of white instead of black troops to make the charge.*"

While General Lee was engaged with Grant in front of Petersburg, Early, who had driven Hunter before him from the Valley, pushed forward into Maryland. By thus threatening the Federal capital, General Lee hoped to remove the pressure from his front.

On the 3d of July, Early had reached Martinsburg. On the 7th he was at Frederick City, from which place he could move either upon Baltimore or Washington. But some troops had been hastily collected to oppose him, under the command of General Wallace; and establishing themselves on

the left bank of the Monocacy near Frederick City, prepared to resist the Confederate advance. General Early attacked them on the 8th. The Federals, breaking, retreated in the utmost confusion in the direction of Gettysburg, leaving the way open to Washington. General Wallace lost a thousand killed and wounded in this engagement and seven hundred prisoners.

Leaving Monocacy, General Early reached Rockville on the 10th, in sight of Washington. Great alarm prevailed here and throughout the North at the near approach of the "Rebel" leader. From the windows of the capitol the Southern flag could be plainly distinguished, and the firing of the Confederate skirmishers could be heard in the chambers of the White House.

At last it seemed as if the cherished hope of seizing Washington was to be accomplished. But General Early hesitated; the long and arduous march in the heat of summer had reduced his numbers to eight thousand infantry, which, with two thousand cavalry and forty pieces of artillery, made up his whole command. They had marched five hundred miles, averaging twenty miles a day. Many had dropped down on the way, exhausted by heat and fatigue. General Early had no means of knowing what forces lay behind the strong defences of Washington, and did not deem it prudent to attack them. It was afterwards ascertained

that a large force under General Wright, ordered to the defence of the capital, had arrived there just before Early.

Falling back from before Washington, General Early's rear-guard engaging General Wright, who had followed in pursuit, at Snicker's Ferry, the latter was repulsed, and returned to Washington.

Later in July, Early sent a cavalry party into Pennsylvania under General McCausland, to burn Chambersburg, in retaliation for the outrages committed by Hunter in Virginia.

General Grant, who had at first concluded to recall the troops sent from Petersburg, finding Early's army remained in the Valley, a standing menace to Washington and Pennsylvania, decided to leave them under the command of Hunter. A new command was organized to be known as the Middle Military Division, and given to General Hunter.

General Early brought back with him from Maryland valuable supplies, which were much needed — five thousand horses and twenty-five hundred beef cattle.

His movement had been not without success as regarded its primary object, justifying the wise policy of the Confederate commander-in-chief.

An army of forty or fifty thousand men were sent to watch Early, who had established himself on the banks of the Opequon, Grant's forces being depleted to this amount.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Battle of Chafin's Farm — Struggles for the Weldon Road — Ream's Station — The South Side Road — Hatcher's Run — General Lee's Despatch — Reverses in the Valley — Winchester — Fisher's Hill — Cedar Creek — General Lee's Letter to General Early.

AFTER the failure of the mine no further direct attack was made upon Petersburg. General Grant sought to extend his lines to the left, in order to gain possession of the important railroads, which were the avenues of communication between Richmond and the South.

At the same time several movements were made on the north side of the James, of which the ulterior object was to draw off attention from the south side.

In August, General Hancock landed at Deep Bottom with a large force, from which point it was deemed a successful attack might be made on Chafin's Bluff. Several days of indecisive skirmishing were followed, on the 16th, by an assault on the Southern position. At first successful, it ended at length in the complete repulse of the attacking force, the Confederates holding the entire line after nine hours' heavy fighting.

On the 20th Hancock returned to the south side, having lost in his fruitless expedition fifteen

hundred men. The Confederate loss did not exceed five hundred.

General Lee had long before expressed his inability to hold the Weldon Road, should the enemy make any serious effort to gain it. But, in obedience to the wishes of the Government, he endeavored to retain it as long as possible. Therefore when General Grant, in pursuance of the plan already intimated, taking advantage of the depletion of Lee's lines from the withdrawal of the reinforcements sent to meet Hancock, occupied the Weldon Road, it was nothing more than General Lee had anticipated. He resolved, however, to make an effort to dislodge the Federal force under Warren, which held possession of it. On the 19th, two divisions of Hill's corps attacked Warren with some success, though failing to drive him off. A series of engagements followed, resulting in severe losses to the Federals, but they continued to retain the road. General Warren reported in this undertaking a loss of four thousand four hundred and fifty-five in killed, wounded, and missing.

At Ream's Station another engagement ensued, on the 25th of August, between Hancock, who had been sent up behind Warren, and a portion of A. P. Hill's corps. Here the Federal forces were repulsed with severe loss; Heth's division, making a vigorous charge, broke their line, and Hampton's cavalry following, completed their discomfiture.

But this victory did not alter the general result. Warren threw up intrenchments and prepared to make his position a permanent line.

In September, another movement was planned for an advance upon the north side.

Butler moved out towards Chafin's Farm on the 28th, and, under cover of a movement of Warren's, succeeded in capturing Fort Harrison, an important post, from which he threatened the Confederate main line. An effort was made subsequently to recover this fort, but without success. All attempts on the part of Butler, however, to penetrate further towards the Confederate works at Chafin's Bluff were repulsed.

The loss of the Weldon Road was of minor importance to the Confederates as long as they retained the South Side Road. This, therefore, was the great object to which all General Grant's movements tended. In October, a final attempt was made on a large scale to accomplish its capture before the winter set in.

The troops were put in light marching order. Three corps proceeded, on the 27th, to Hatcher's Run, leaving a force barely sufficient to hold the works at Petersburg. Hatcher's Run crosses the Boydton Road, where the extreme right of the Confederate force was intrenched. Upon nearing the Boydton Road, the Confederate line was found to extend much beyond the point where they had sup-

posed it terminated, and was, moreover, so strong that Hancock hesitated to attack it.

During the march, a gap occurred between the 5th corps, which had been sent to Hancock's assistance, and his own immediate command. This afforded an opportunity for the Confederates to throw a force in between them. Mahone attacked Hancock's right, driving it more than a mile. Hampton's cavalry closed in upon his rear at the same time. Four hundred prisoners and six pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the Confederates.

Later in the day Hancock attacked Mahone, and endeavored to regain his former position, but without success.

General Lee's despatch of 28th October gives the following report of this affair:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
"October 28, 1864.

"HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

"General Hill reports that the attack of General Heth upon the enemy on the Boydton Plank Road, mentioned in my despatch last evening, was made by three brigades under General Mahone in front, and General Hampton in the rear. Mahone captured four hundred prisoners, three stand of colors, and six pieces of artillery. The latter could not be brought off, the enemy having possession of the bridge.

"In the attack subsequently made by the enemy, General Mahone broke three lines of battle, and

during the night the enemy retreated from the Boydton Road, leaving his wounded and more than two hundred and fifty dead on the field.

"About nine o'clock P. M., a small force assaulted and took possession of our works on the Baxter Road, in front of Petersburg, but were soon driven out.

"On the Williamsburg Road, General Field captured upward of four hundred prisoners and seven stand of colors. The enemy left a number of dead in front of our works, and to-day retreated to his former position. R. E. LEE."

Thus ended this ambitious movement. The Confederate outer lines had been found to be quite as strong as those around Petersburg.

In the meantime, events in the Valley had not fulfilled the expectations of the army and the country.

General Early had a difficult task before him. The circumstances were very similar to those that had called into action the splendid genius of Jackson, and the theatre of war the same that had witnessed his great feats of arms.

Sheridan, who had succeeded Hunter, commanded in this Valley campaign not less than thirty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry.

General Early's force numbered eight thousand five hundred infantry, and three thousand cavalry, badly mounted and badly armed. Notwithstanding

this great advantage, Sheridan remained inactive through the month of August, and it was not until the latter part of September that any movement was made.

On the 19th, the battle of *Winchester* took place, or, as it has been called by Northern writers, the battle of the *Opequon*. Thirty thousand infantry engaged eight thousand. After several hours of hard fighting, during which the Southern forces bravely held their ground, at four in the evening Sheridan brought up his cavalry. They completely enveloped the Confederate left. All the troops were closely engaged. There were no forces to bring against this overwhelming advance of the Federal cavalry. With their flank turned and hotly pressed in front, the Confederates, who had so gallantly withstood the infantry attack from eleven o'clock until four, were compelled to fall back.* General Early lost twenty-five hundred prisoners and five pieces of artillery. Retreating through the Valley, he took up a position at Fisher's Hill, on the Shenandoah, near Strasburg.

General Early, in his "Memoirs of the Last Year of the War," says of this battle: "As it was, con-

* "The Confederate cavalry of the Valley, consisting of two divisions under Fitz-Lee and Lomax, was at this time in a deplorable condition, materially and morally. 'Our horses,' says a letter from a Confederate officer of this force, 'had been fed on nothing but hay for some time, and were quite weak; and want of discipline had greatly demoralized the men.'" — *Swinton.*.

sidering the immense disparity of numbers and equipment, the enemy had very little to boast of. I had lost a few pieces of artillery and some very valuable officers and men, but the main part of my force and all my trains had been saved, and the enemy's loss in killed and wounded was far greater than mine."

At Winchester fell the gallant Major-General Rodes, to whose valuable counsels General Early expressed himself much indebted at this time of grave responsibility and trial.

At *Fisher's Hill*, on the 22d of September, another engagement occurred. It could scarcely be called a battle. Early's army now numbered but four thousand infantry, and his cavalry was also much reduced. Attacked at the same time in front and rear, his left resting on North Mountain having been flanked by an infantry corps, Early was driven in disorder, but his line of retreat, kept open at Milford by a division of Confederate cavalry under General Wickham, enabled him to reach the Blue Ridge in safety.

Sheridan now proceeded to lay waste the Valley, destroying not only forage and those articles which it might be considered allowable to waste in time of war,* but *farming implements*, and "over seventy mills filled with flour and wheat." This has been

* He says: "I have destroyed 2,000 barns filled with hay and farming implements."

characterized even by a Northern writer as a violation of the law of nations. After quoting Sheridan's despatch, he adds, "this dread bulletin recites acts, some of which are indefensible." *

Cooke thus graphically describes the desolation caused by this cruel conduct:

"Before the torches in the hands of his troops, houses, barns, mills, farming implements, all disappeared in flame. Women and children were seen flying by the light of burning dwellings. Corn, wheat, and forage, the only supplies left the inhabitants, were seized or destroyed. The very ploughs and rakes were broken up and rendered useless. From the women, gray beards, and children, threatened with starvation, went up a cry to God for vengeance on the author of this enormity."

As the Northern historian quoted above has observed, the desolation of the Palatinate by the French armies in 1674, which called down on Louvois the censures of the civilized world, was not more complete.

General Early was reinforced at this time by Kershaw's division of infantry, and six hundred cavalry, and returning to the Valley, determined upon an assault on the Federal position at Cedar Creek. A direct attack was deemed too hazardous, and a surprise was accordingly planned, consisting of a flank movement on the enemy's left.

* SWINTON: *Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac.*

On the night of the 18th, a column of Confederate infantry succeeded in getting in their rear. The Federal troops were roused from sleep by the shouts of the victorious Southerners in their midst. The camp, with all that it contained, became the prize of the Confederates. Eighteen pieces of artillery and fifteen hundred prisoners fell into their hands. General Wright, in temporary command of the Federal troops, endeavored to rally the disorganized masses, but without success. The attack in front, which had followed the flanking movement, was equally resistless. The victory seemed complete. At Middletown, General Wright had paused. Pursued by the Confederates, he continued his retreat, but soon halted again, and, reforming his line, prepared to attack Early in turn. The Confederate troops in the meanwhile, attracted by the rich spoils of the Federal camp, shamefully forgot their duty, and losing all discipline, were in no condition to receive the counter-charge.

The Confederate victory of the morning, in the afternoon was changed to defeat. With this mortifying result ended all hopes for the Valley.

Of this battle, General Early says:

"This was the case of a glorious victory given up by my own troops after they had won it, and it is to be accounted for on the ground of the partial demoralization caused by the plunder of the enemy's camps, and from the fact that the men under-

took to judge for themselves when it was proper to retire. . . . .

"I read a sharp lecture to my troops, in an address published to them a few days after the battle, but I never attributed the result to a want of courage on their part, for I had seen them perform too many prodigies of valor to doubt that there was an individuality about the Confederate soldier which caused him to act often in battle according to his own opinions, and thereby impair his own efficiency, and the tempting bait offered by the rich plunder of the camps of the enemy's well-fed and well-clothed troops, was frequently too great for our destitute soldiers, and caused them to pause in the career of victory." *

*General Early was not long afterwards relieved of his command in the Valley, upon which occasion General Lee wrote him the following considerate letter:

"Headquarters C. S. Armies,
"30th March, 1865.

"Lieutenant-General J. A. Early, Franklin Co., Va.

"General: — My telegram will have informed you that I deem a change of commanders in your department necessary; but it is due to your zealous and patriotic services that I should explain the reasons that prompted my action. The situation of affairs is such that we can neglect no means calculated to develop the resources we possess to the greatest extent, and make them as efficient as possible. To this end it is essential that we should have the cheerful and hearty support of the people, and the full confidence of the soldiers, without which our efforts would be embarrassed and our means of resistance weakened. I have reluctantly arrived at the conclusion that you cannot command the united and willing co-operation which is so essential to success. Your reverses in the Valley, of which the public and the army judge chiefly by the results, have, I fear, impaired your influence both with the people and the soldiers, and would add greatly to the difficulties which will under any circumstances attend our military operations in S. W. Virginia. While my own confidence in your ability, zeal, and devotion to the cause

CHAPTER XXIX.

Winter in the Trenches — Sufferings of the Troops — "*Les Misérables*" — Disasters in the South — Depression of the People — General Lee appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Confederate Armies — Failure of Peace Negotiations — Proposed Enlistment of Negroes.

AFTER the "great reconnoissance" in October, the armies around Petersburg went into winter-quarters. No extensive movement could be carried on at this season. In December, however, another attack was made on the Weldon Road, for the purpose of extending the Federal lines further southward. Hampton encountered Warren's pickets and drove them in, repulsing the latter at Bellfield; but Warren succeeded, before Hampton arrived, in destroying a considerable portion of the

is unimpaired, I have nevertheless felt that I could not oppose what seems to be the current of opinion, without injustice to your reputation and injury to the service. I therefore felt constrained to endeavor to find a commander who would be more likely to develop the strength and resources of the country, and inspire the soldiers with proper confidence; and to accomplish this purpose, I thought it proper to yield my own opinion, and to defer to that of those to whom alone we can look for support. I am sure that you will understand and appreciate my motives, and no one will be more ready than yourself to acquiesce in any measures which the interests of the country may seem to require, regardless of all personal considerations.

"Thanking you for the fidelity and energy with which you have always supported my efforts, and for the courage and devotion you have ever manifested in the service of the country, I am, very respectfully and truly,

"Your obedient servant,

"R. E. Lee, General."

road. With the exception of continual picket-firing, all was now quiet. But winter, though bringing with it exemption from active duty, fearfully increased the sufferings and privations of the poor soldiers of the South.

At one time during this last month of '64, General Lee had but nine days' rations for his army. Owing to the want of warm clothing and short rations, desertions became more and more frequent. Fortunately, the arrival of several ships at Wilmington, loaded with supplies, enabled the Government to relieve the army in this great emergency.

Cooke, in one of his interesting books about the war, gives a graphic picture of their condition at this period of the struggle:

"They had a quarter of a pound of rancid 'Nassau bacon,' from New England, for daily rations of meat. The handful of flour or cornmeal which they received was musty. Coffee and sugar were doled out as a luxury now and then only; and the microscopic ration became a jest to those who looked at it. . . . .

"Their clothes, blankets, and shoes were no better — even worse. Only at long intervals could the Government issue new ones to them. Thus the army was in tatters. The old clothes hung on the men like scarecrows. Their gray jackets were in rags, and did not keep out the chilly wind sweeping over the frozen fields. Their old blankets were in shreds, and gave them little warmth when they

In the Trenches at Petersburg.

wrapped themselves in them, shivering in the long, cold nights. The old shoes, patched and yawning, had served in many a march and battle, and now allowed the naked sole to touch the hard and frosty ground."

They were indeed "Lee's Miserables."*

And their noble leader felt keenly the privations of his men. He spared no exertion to ameliorate the hardships of their condition. But the Government seemed to find it impossible to make any better provision for its defenders. The cheerfulness and composure of General Lee under the pressing anxieties of this memorable winter excited the wonder and admiration of all who saw him. The love and confidence of the soldiers had long been his; and as one by one the armies of the South and

* "They called themselves Lee's Miserables, . . . and the name had had a somewhat curious origin. Victor Hugo's work, *Les Misérables*, had been translated and published by a house in Richmond; the soldiers, in the great dearth of reading-matter, had seized upon it; and thus, by a strange chance, the tragic story of the great French writer had become known to the soldiers in the trenches. Everywhere you might see the gaunt figures in their tattered jackets, bending over the dingy pamphlets — 'Fantine,' 'Cosette,' or 'Marius,' or 'St. Denis,' and the woes of 'Jean Valjean,' the old galley-slave, found an echo in the hearts of these brave soldiers, immured in the trenches and fettered by duty to their muskets or their cannon." — Mohun.

A story went the rounds of the papers at this time, of an old woman, who, seeing the notice of one of this series in a bookseller's shop, "Les Miserables," "Fantine," mistook it for a bulletin from the seat of war. "Lee's Miserables, fainting!" exclaimed the excited old lady, and she went in to ask for further details, as her son was "one of them."

West fell back before the foe, leaving Sherman to pursue his unmolested "march to the sea," allowing Wilmington, though bravely defended by the handful of troops at Fort Fisher, to be lost to the South, with its valuable seaport, all eyes turned upon General Lee as the one hope of the sorely tried nation. In an editorial of the "Examiner" of December 29, we have a glimpse of the state of public feeling, and the measure that was clamored for as a remedy for the evils that were believed to exist, namely, the transfer of the supreme military power to General Lee.

"The Southern States," says this writer, "are in no danger so long as the spirit of the people is what it has hitherto been. But let us not be blind to the truth, that there is such a thing possible as a decay of national confidence and a death of national spirit. There is such a thing as *heartbreak* for nations as for individuals. There are such things as hopelessness and despair, lethargy and apathy. A conviction that all that it will do must come to nought, all sacrifices it can make be rendered vain by an irremediable cause, — a conviction resting on rational grounds, both of reflection and experiment, — will produce this state of feeling in any nation, however heroic and obstinate. . . . .

"Nothing will remove the cloud, or rather the lurid, ill-omened light which now rests on the future, but measures that touch the root of our evil. Such a measure there is. . . . It is the creation of a new officer — a commander-in-chief — who shall

exercise supreme control over the armies and military affairs of this Confederacy; and the appointment of General Lee to be that officer."

With the beginning of the New Year came rumors of peace, and the public mind was greatly excited by the secret visit of Mr. Blair to Richmond.

In the meanwhile, General Lee's army, diminished to thirty-three thousand men, was stretched along a line forty miles in extent; and Grant confronted this feeble line with not less than a hundred and sixty thousand. That General Lee should have succeeded so long in keeping this host at bay, is a proof of his consummate genius. Swinton says of these operations around Petersburg:

"The success of the Confederate tactics was wonderful. Each movement, saving that of the Weldon Railroad, which was conducted on a different principle, ending in a check, generally accompanied by one or more thousand prisoners. The aggregate of captures made by the enemy in these successive swoops is astonishing."

In February, the last of these movements was made by Grant, in which he established himself on Hatcher's Run. A fight took place between the Federal troops and Hill's and Gordon's corps.

On the 6th, Pegram's division was hotly engaged.

"The battle was obstinately contested for several hours; but General Pegram being killed while bravely encouraging his men, and Colonel Hoffman

wounded, some confusion occurred, and the division was pressed back to its original position. Evan's division, ordered by General Gordon to support Pegram's, charged the enemy and forced him back, but was in turn compelled to retire. Mahone's division arriving, the enemy was driven rapidly to his defences on Hatcher's Run." *

The Federal loss was two thousand men; the Confederate loss, one thousand. General Grant had extended his lines two or three miles, but had advanced no nearer to the South Side Road. Indeed, as pointed out by a Northern historian, all Grant's movements to the left, after reaching the Weldon Road, had resulted in carrying him farther away from the object of these expeditions; "for Lee, by thrusting his right southward along the Boydton Plank Road, caused the Union intrenched line to run in the contrary direction to that of the South Side Railroad." †

A day or two after this affair, General Lee received his appointment as Commander-in-Chief, which had at length passed the House. With characteristic modesty, he rather shunned than courted a position of such high responsibility. His relations also with the President, always of the most friendly nature, made him hesitate to accept an office which might seem to clash with the prerogatives of the Executive. But the combined voice of rulers and people had elected him as the tried spirit

* General Lee's Report. † SWINTON.

best fitted to deliver them from the perils fast closing in on every side. He could not refuse; but the confidence came too late.

About this time, the result of the conference between the Peace Commissioners at Fortress Monroe became known. President Davis had made "*Independence*" the basis upon which alone peace could be established. Popular indignation was roused to the utmost when the humiliating proposals of the enemy were made known. Mass meetings in Richmond attested the spirit and resolution of the people, stung to new exertions by the thought of what failure would bring to them. Patriotic resolutions from the army were sent to the daily papers, in which they declared their determination to "consecrate anew" their lives and fortunes to the sacred cause for which they had battled so long.

"There is a profound and powerful spring of revivified passion, wrath, and resolve in our Confederate people," says the "Examiner." "The high and keen military spirit of the war's first year flames up again; and that tide is rising which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune." The spirit was there indeed, but how to utilize it to the great end in view?

General Lee needed more men. But if the Government could with difficulty sustain those already in the field, how arm and equip new levies? how feed them? The proposal to use negro troops had

met with great opposition in the early part of the war by the people generally. But on the failure of the conscription, which it had been estimated would put four hundred thousand troops in the service, a bill was brought forward in the House, in November, providing for the enlistment of negroes. General Lee was in favor of the measure, and in February wrote a letter to the House expressing his views on the subject. In this communication, he says:

"I think the measure not only expedient, but necessary. The enemy will certainly use them against us if he can get possession of them; and as his present numerical superiority will enable him to penetrate many parts of the country, I cannot see the wisdom of the policy of holding them to await his arrival, when we may, by timely action and judicious management, use them to arrest his progress."

He gives it as his opinion that they would make good soldiers, if properly trained; and adds, "I think those who are employed should be freed. It would be neither just nor wise, in my opinion, to require them to serve as slaves."

The bill, which passed the House in March, too late to be of any practical use, was wanting in the marks of wisdom and justice here indicated, as it provided for the use of slaves at their master's option without *freeing* them.

In the latter part of February, a correspondence between General Lee and General Grant took place,

arising out of a misapprehension of the Federal General Ord, with regard to the subject of opening peace negotiations by means of a military convention. But General Grant professed to have no power to act except in matters of a purely military character.

This ended the last effort for peace. It was now felt that the struggle must be fought out to the bitter end. None dreamed how near that end was.

CHAPTER XXX.

General Lee's Order Assuming Command of the Confederate Forces — Fight at Hare's Hill — At Five Forks — Last Days at Petersburg — Gallant Defence of Fort Gregg.

GENERAL LEE having accepted the new office conferred upon him, issued the following general order:

HEADQUARTERS CONFEDERATE ARMY,
February 9, 1865.

"GENERAL ORDER, No. 1.

"In obedience to General Order, No. 3, Adjutant- and Inspector-General's Office, 6th February, 1865, I assume command of the military forces of the Confederate States. Deeply impressed with the difficulties and responsibility of the position, and humbly invoking the guidance of Almighty God, I rely for success upon the courage and fortitude of the army, sustained by the patriotism and firmness

of the people, confident that their united efforts, under the blessing of Heaven, will secure peace and independence.

"The headquarters of the army, to which all special reports and communications will be addressed, will be, for the present, with the army of Northern Virginia. The stated and regular returns and reports of each army and department will be forwarded, as heretofore, to the office of the Adjutant- and Inspector-General.

"R. E. Lee, General."

A Northern editor, commenting on this appointment, and one of its first results, — the evacuation of Charleston, — writes:

"It has been said that the rebellion was a shell; the shell is ours, and while we hold the worthless fragments, its invulnerable core, the great, strong heart, defies and baffles us.

"To one who truly conceives the meaning of the change of policy that has been inaugurated by the abandonment and destruction of Charleston, the shadow of coming battles looks darker and more vast than ever before. To one brain, we know how fertile the resources, — to one heart, we know how firm and true, — to one intellect, we know how gifted with martial attributes, — to one man, we know how capable to plan, to strike, to thwart, to retrieve error, or to take advantage of it, the military fortunes of the South have been confided." *

* New York News, Feb. 22.

But the policy here foreshadowed it was not permitted him to carry out. Had the evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond followed that of Charleston, the war would doubtless have been prolonged to a successful issue.

General Lee knew that the line he held, already so attenuated, could not be stretched much farther. With the opening of the spring campaign, Grant would make a final effort to take the South Side Road, and this lost, all was lost. General Lee's plan was therefore — giving up these two cities, which he well knew could not be much longer defended — to move his army into North Carolina, and there effect a junction with the army of General Johnston. With the two armies united in the interior, a new lease of life would be gained for the tottering fabric of the Confederacy. But the Government opposed the views of the commander-in-chief. General Lee then abandoned his intention, yielding to the considerations which represented the bad moral effect likely to result from the voluntary surrender of the Confederate capital.

In the latter part of March General Lee prepared to assume the offensive. Since it was decided to maintain the defence of Petersburg, it was imperative that a bold effort should be made to relieve the Confederate right from the heavy pressure upon it, and by striking a blow at Grant in the opposite direction, ward off the danger that menaced the

South Side Road. An attack on the Federal centre, east of Petersburg, would oblige Grant to draw in his left. A Confederate force wedged in between the two wings threatening the City Point Railroad, by which Grant received most of his supplies, would materially alter the aspect of affairs. Then, while Grant was massing troops in his front to resist their further advance, General Lee could, in the event of his weakness rendering it necessary, withdraw his army silently by the South Side Road and retire into North Carolina, as he had first proposed.

Such was the daring and brilliant scheme which General Lee had fixed upon to extricate himself from the perils of the situation.

General Gordon commanded that portion of the line immediately in front of Petersburg, his force consisting of three small divisions. General Longstreet held the Confederate left, which extended north of the James; and General A. P. Hill commanded the right, ending at Hatcher's Run.

To Gordon, therefore, fell the task assigned for the 25th of March. The assault was to be made on *Hare's Hill*, distant from the Confederate line less than two hundred yards.

Fort Steadman, the first of the Federal works at this point, was stormed at daylight by General Gordon, with his three or four thousand men, and the enemy, completely surprised, fell back before their

impetuous charge, with the loss of five hundred prisoners. The fort was in the hands of the Confederates; it only needed that this gallant beginning should be supported, to complete the success of the movement. But this was not done; and the neighboring forts, opening their fire, poured their destructive volleys upon him from every side. General Gordon found himself surrounded, and could with difficulty effect the retreat of the remnant of his small force. Two thousand were dead or in the hands of the enemy.

With the failure at Hare's Hill ended the last aggressive movement of the army of Northern Virginia. But General Lee did not lose confidence. He had no thought of surrender, and awaited calmly the decisive struggle.

His slow and cautious adversary had at first resolved to wait the arrival of Sherman before risking a general attack. But, afraid that Johnston would come to Lee's aid should Sherman leave the Roanoke, he determined to make the assault without further delay.

A timely and important reinforcement decided him at this juncture. Sheridan, who had been directed to march to North Carolina to cut off General Lee's retreat,—an event daily expected by Grant,—prevented by the condition of the river from carrying out this programme, had brought his ten thousand cavalry to operate with General Grant.

The Federal army, now numbering seventy thousand men, strong in the consciousness of overwhelming numbers, prepared to hurl themselves against the thin line that had so long and so skilfully parried every blow hitherto aimed against it.

On the 29th, a strong column, twenty-five thousand men in all, moved towards the South Side Road. To meet this movement upon his right, General Lee was forced to strip his lines elsewhere; and collecting with difficulty seventeen thousand men, he hurried them forward to oppose the enemy's advance.

Detached from the main line of intrenchments, and about four miles further west, the Confederates held an important work. This point was known as Five Forks, from the circumstance of several roads meeting here. The possession of Five Forks would give the enemy a great advantage, and it was thither, therefore, that the contest drifted.

Sheridan, moving in advance of the infantry column, occupied Dinwiddie Court-House, eight miles south of Five Forks; and on the 31st moved on towards that point. Here he was encountered by an infantry force of the Confederates under Pickett and Bushrod Johnson, and driven back within two miles of the Court-House.

On the 1st of April, Sheridan, now joined by Warren, advanced again upon Five Forks. The Confederates, shut up within their works, pressed flank and rear by the Federal troops, at length gave

way. "Yet, vital in all its parts, what of the two divisions remained still continued the combat with unyielding mettle. Parrying the thrusts of the cavalry from the front, this poor scratch of a force threw back its left in a new and short crotchet to meet the advance of Warren, who continued to press in at right angles to the White Oak Road." * But it was of no avail. Five Forks was lost, and the Confederate right broken and well-nigh annihilated. Simultaneously with the attack on the right, the Federal batteries opened along the whole line. "The days thundered, and the nights were like the days. From the White Oak Road west of Petersburg, to the Williamsburg Road east of Richmond, cannon glared and roared, musketry rattled, mortar-shell rose, described their fiery curves like flocks of flame-birds, burst and rained their iron fragments in the trenches. The cannoneer, sighting his gun, fell by bullets entering the embrasure; the musketeer, who sank to sleep in the trenches for an instant, was torn asunder by the mortar-shells, and never woke." † Such were some of the horrors of the last days at Petersburg. At dawn, on the morning of the 2d, the assault began at different points along the line. A heavy column was thrown forward on Gordon's position, who fell back upon the inner line of works, and there held his ground

* SWINTON: *Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac.*
† COOKE: *Hammer and Rapier.*

firmly. On the right of Gordon, A. P. Hill's left, feebly held by artillerists, was unable to withstand the Federal charge.

The enemy, pressing forward, seemed about to cut the Confederate army in two, and bring upon them irretrievable disaster.

But just in rear of this part of the line were placed two fortifications, which, if held, would enable General Lee to bring in his lines to the works immediately around the city, and insure the safety of the army.

Both forts were thinly garrisoned. Fort Alexander fell after a brief though brave resistance. Fort Gregg was now the last hope. The devoted garrison knew how much depended on their valor, and resolved to be not unworthy of the trust. This small force consisted of a Maryland battery, under Captain Chew, some dismounted drivers — Virginians and Louisianians — a part of Harris's Mississippi brigade, with a few North Carolinians, in all two hundred and fifty men, the whole commanded by Captain Chew. The Federals, confident of an easy victory, advanced within fifty yards of the fort, when the Confederates opened upon them with a determined fire. Again and again they advance, each time the noble little band receiving the charge with undiminished valor. Cheers from the Confederates within the inner lines greet each repulse of the advancing column; but no help can

be sent them, and it is evident they must at length succumb. Every man is needed at his post, to resist the attacks upon the rest of the line. But when the Federal flag waves over the captured fort, the object for which they strove is accomplished. General Lee's army is safe within the interior fortifications.

In this valiant defence of Fort Gregg, out of two hundred and fifty, but thirty men survived. The enemy's loss was between five and six hundred, two for each Confederate killed.

"And to the illumined story of the army of Northern Virginia, Fort Gregg gave a fitting conclusion, an ornament of glory that well clasped the record of its deeds."*

*Pollard's *Lost Cause.*

CHAPTER XXXI.

Death of General A. P. Hill — Evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond — The Army without Rations — The Consequent Delay — The Retreat to North Carolina Cut Off — Loss of Ewell's Corps — A Council of War.

FORT Gregg fell at 7 o'clock on the morning of the 2d of April. A few hours later, General Lee had been reinforced by Longstreet, who, finding the Federal force in front of him to be nothing more than a mask, joined his command to the lines defending Petersburg in time to check the enemy's advance. The Confederates now held a strong interior line, against which repeated assaults made by the besieging forces were successively repulsed. An offensive demonstration was also made by a portion of General Lee's army, under A. P. Hill, the object of which was to recover some important ground on the left. The attack was made with great spirit, pressing the Federal corps opposing them so closely as to make it necessary for them to require reinforcements; but the Southern troops were at length compelled to withdraw.

In this movement, General A. P. Hill lost his life. This gallant officer had served through the entire war with great distinction.

General Lee held Petersburg when night closed in. But as the Federal forces occupied all the

country south of the Appomattox to the South Side Road, it was absolutely necessary to evacuate the city. Notice was forwarded to Richmond of the intended retreat.

The tobacco and cotton stored in the warehouses of Petersburg were consigned to the flames; and every preparation being completed, the army silently withdrew under cover of the darkness, and marching by the north bank of the Appomattox, had, by the morning of the 3d, advanced seventeen miles on their route. Augmented by the troops that had held the line of the James, and Ewell's command from Richmond, the army now amounted to twenty thousand men. The soldiers were in fine spirits.

"They were out of the trenches and in the budding woods. They were moving, not massing; going to fight, not to stand a siege in ditches full of mud and water; and Lee, on his gray horse, was leading them." *

The Commander-in-Chief was not less hopeful. "I have got my army safe out of its breastworks," he is reported to have said, "and in order to follow me, the enemy must abandon his lines, and can derive no further benefit from his railroads or James River."

General Lee's object was to march by way of the

* COOKE: *Hammer and Rapier.*

Danville Railroad, cut through any force of the enemy's cavalry that might be in his path, and thus make his way into North Carolina. Grant's cavalry were at Dinwiddie Court-House, and he had the shorter and interior route, by which, with diligence, he might bring up his army and cut off General Lee's retreat at Burkesville Junction. But General Lee rightly concluded that Grant would divide his army to facilitate the pursuit, and reckoned, by rapid marching, he could effect his purpose before the Federal infantry could mass in any sufficient numbers on his line of retreat.

But an important element in this calculation was the question of food. The army had carried with them but one ration. Orders had been given that a supply should meet them at Amelia Court-House. Through a mistake of the Richmond authorities, the cars coming up from the South were sent on from Amelia Court-House, *without unloading*, to aid in carrying off the Government property: and the supplies upon which depended the safety of Lee's army, were lost in the conflagration and confusion that marked the expiring hours of the Confederate capital.

The brave heart must now have faltered, the bronzed cheek blanched, under this unforeseen and appalling calamity.

The army had marched through mud and wet, enduring hunger and fatigue — delayed by the ris-

ing river, which must be crossed to the south side — buoyed up by the thought that the means of relief were near at hand by which to gain new strength and endurance for the perilous journey.

When, at the end of the three days' march, they struck the Danville Road at Amelia Court-House, the bitterness of disappointment awaited them. It was impossible for starving men to march and fight. It was necessary to accept the dangerous delay thus forced upon them — to break up a part of the forces into foraging parties, to procure from the impoverished country around them what scanty means of subsistence could be had.

This gave General Grant the advantage he needed. General Sheridan with twenty thousand cavalry, far in the van of the main army, reached Jetersville, on the Danville Road, on the same afternoon that Lee arrived at the Court-House. On the following day, the 5th, he was joined by General Meade with two corps of infantry. Thus General Lee's retreat to North Carolina was cut off, while his troops were scattered about looking for bread. The only course now was to turn off in a westward direction, to Farmville, from whence, retreating to Lynchburg, he could, in the fastnesses of the Virginia mountains, still carry on the war. Just as Grant was moving up his forces to attack Lee at Amelia Court-House, it was discovered he had "slipped past" and turned off towards Farmville. General Grant dis-

posed his troops to follow him: one column moved on the same route, in his rear, the other two by parallel lines, north and south of the Confederate line — while the Army of the James, as it was called, having reached Burkesville, sent forward a column to destroy the bridge near Farmville.

So the "circle of the hunt" seemed about to complete itself. But the army of Northern Virginia marched on, still confident in the ability of their leader, and despite danger and hardship, ready to follow him through all vicissitudes to the hoped-for goal.

Sheridan had been hanging on the Confederate flank all along their way, and on the 6th struck the wagon-train at Sailor's Creek, a small stream emptying into the Appomattox a few miles east of Farmville.

Pickett's division, having the train in charge, was so sorely pressed that it was necessary to send to General Ewell for reinforcements. The latter, promptly bringing up his corps, began making his dispositions to resist the Federal charge, when it was discovered that Gordon's corps, forming the rear-guard of the army, had taken another route; and the enemy were in his rear, completely cutting him off. In the meantime the Federal infantry came up, Sheridan advanced, and a hot struggle ensued. General Ewell soon found himself surrounded; but notwithstanding the exhaustion

of his men, of whose condition it was said, "Many of them were so worn out that they would drop the guns which they had just loaded or discharged, and, regardless of the firing, sink down upon the ground and fall asleep," * he held his ground for some time, causing the Federal corps to fall back under the hot fire of his veterans.†

The enemy returning to the charge, General Ewell found himself overpowered by a force five times his own, and was compelled to surrender. This, with the loss of the wagons, — four hundred in number, and sixteen pieces of artillery, — was an irreparable blow. Nearly the whole of Ewell's corps, with several general officers, besides General Ewell himself, were in the hands of the enemy.

It was evening when the affair just narrated had taken place; the Federal forces hurried on to attack the rest of the army, when they were met by a wall of bayonets and cannon.

General Lee had hastened with a handful of men to erect this barrier between the disordered remnant of Ewell's corps and the advancing enemy.

It was a magnificent spectacle, the grim faces of these ragged, half-starved veterans, "lit up by the glare of the burning wagons, by the horizon all

* McCabe: *Life of Lee.*

† "But even thus environed, these men showed they could still exact a price before yielding; and when an advance was made by a part of the Sixth corps, they delivered so deadly a fire, that a portion of that veteran line bent and broke under it." — *Swinton.*

flaming, above which rose, red and threatening, the Federal signal rockets, and in the midst of all, on his iron-gray, the old cavalier Lee, sitting calm and collected, with a face as unmoved as on some peaceful parade."

"Before that rock, bristling with bayonets, the Federal wave went back. Night fell; and with cannon thundering upon the long-drawn line of Federal horsemen ready to rush upon his rear, Lee continued his retreat, crossing the river at Farmville, and making for Lynchburg." *

The Federal column sent to Farmville, encountering the head of the Confederate line, was overwhelmed and driven back, the Federal officer in charge of this expedition losing his life in the attack.

When General Lee had reached Farmville with what remained of his army — now reduced to the corps of Gordon and Longstreet — intrenchments were thrown up for the night on the neighboring heights. That evening a council of war was held by some of the chief officers, at which General Lee was not present. At this meeting three courses were proposed, between which it was necessary to decide what seemed most expedient to be done: — to disband the forces, and let them come together as they best could at some specified point; to endeavor to cut their way through the Federal lines;

* Cooke: *Hammer and Rapier.*

or to surrender then and there. The first proposition was rejected as unworthy the dignity of the army; the second they regarded as apparently hopeless; the third was unwillingly accepted as the only alternative, and this conclusion was communicated to General Lee by his chief of artillery, General Pendleton.

"Surrender!" he exclaimed. "I have too many good fighting-men for that." With his scrupulous sense of duty, with his jealous devotion to the sacred charge entrusted to him, he felt that the moment had not come when he could say, "I have done all that I could do; this alone is left to me."

But the hour was at hand, and had already thrown its dark shadow over the weary remnant of the army of Northern Virginia.

An eloquent foreign critic says: "Brilliant as were General Lee's earlier triumphs, we believe that he gave higher proofs of genius in his last campaign, and that hardly any of his victories were so honorable to himself and to his army as that six days' retreat."

CHAPTER XXXII.

Starvation and Death — The Veterans still march and fight — General Grant proposes a Surrender — Correspondence between the two Commanders — Preparations for another Battle — The White Flag — The Surrender — Interview between General Lee and General Grant.

THE sufferings of the soldiers of Lee find few parallels in history. A Northern writer has said: "One would have to seek its like in what befell upon the snowy wastes of Muscovy in 1812." They have been vividly and faithfully described in the narrative of a young Englishman who was with the army at the time.

". . . The sufferings of the men from the pangs of hunger have not been approached in the military annals of the last fifty years. But the sufferings of the mules and horses must have been even keener, for the men assuaged their craving by plucking the buds and twigs of trees just shooting in the early spring; whereas the grass had not yet started from its winter sleep, and food for the unhappy quadrupeds there was none. . . . It is easy to see that the locomotion of an army in such a plight must have been slow and slower. . . . Upon the 5th, many of the mules and horses ceased to struggle. It became necessary to burn hundreds of wagons. At intervals the enemy's cavalry dashed in and struck the interminable train here or there, capturing and

burning dozens upon dozens of wagons. Towards the evening of the 5th, and all day long upon the 6th, hundreds of men dropped from exhaustion, and thousands let fall their muskets from inability to carry them any farther. The scenes of the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th, were of a nature which can be apprehended in its vivid reality only by men who are thoroughly familiar with the harrowing details of war. Behind and on either flank an ubiquitous and increasingly adventurous enemy — every mud-hole and every rise in the road choked with blazing wagons — the air filled with the deafening reports of ammunition exploding, and shells bursting when touched by the flames — dense columns of smoke ascending to heaven from the burning and exploding vehicles — exhausted men, worn-out mules and horses lying down side by side — gaunt famine glaring hopelessly from sunken, lack-lustre eyes — dead mules, dead horses, dead men everywhere — death many times welcomed as God's blessing in disguise — who can wonder if many hearts, tried in the fiery furnace of four years' unparalleled suffering and never hitherto found wanting, should have quailed in presence of starvation, fatigue, sleeplessness, misery, unintermitted for five or six days, and culminating in hopelessness." *

General Lee, continuing his retreat, on the 7th left Farmville, halting his army four miles beyond. Orders had been given to destroy the bridges over the Appomattox, and a brigade of Gordon's was

* Francis Lawley's *Narrative*.

left behind to guard the crossing while the order was carried out. The Second Federal corps shortly coming up, after a sharp encounter succeeded in driving off the Confederates and saving the bridges almost entire. Following on in the rear of Lee's army they attacked the wagon-train, and had captured a number of wagons, when Gordon, turning back, drove them off, taking two hundred prisoners.

Pushing on in advance, this Federal corps, under General Humphreys, finally came upon General Lee's whole army, strongly intrenched. Attempting to flank the Confederate position, deeming it too strong to be attacked in front, he found himself compelled to send for reinforcements. In the meanwhile, attacking Lee's left, he was speedily repulsed, losing six hundred men in killed and wounded. When reinforcements had arrived, it was too late to make another attack.

Another instance of the spirit of these broken-down troops occurred on the same day, in which the cavalry under Fitz-Lee, attacked by six thousand of Sheridan's well-appointed force, achieved a signal success; General Gregg, the officer in command of the Federal cavalry, being taken prisoner.

General Grant occupied Farmville on the morning of the 7th, soon after General Lee's army moved out. While at Farmville, he addressed General Lee the following note:

"April 7, 1865.

"GENERAL R. E. LEE, Commanding C. S. A.

"GENERAL: — The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate Southern Army known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

"Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"U. S. GRANT,

"Lieutenant-General Commanding Armies of the United States."

General Grant wrote this at Farmville, thinking General Lee's chances of escape entirely hopeless. Before the answer (written the same night) was received, General Lee had put a long night's march between his army and that of General Grant.

To which General Lee immediately responded:

"April 7, 1865.

"GENERAL: — I have received your note of this day. Though not entirely of the opinion you express as to the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, and therefore, before considering your proposition,

ask the terms you will offer on condition of its surrender. R. E. Lee, General."

"To Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant, Commanding Armies of the United States."

To this General Grant replied:

"April 8, 1865.

"General: — Your note of last evening, in reply to mine of same date, asking the condition on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, is just received. In reply, I would say that *peace* being my great desire, there is but one condition I would insist upon, namely: That the men and officers surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms again against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged. I will meet you, or will designate officers to meet any officers you might name for the same purpose, at any point agreeable to you, for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received.

"U. S. Grant, Lieutenant-General."

"General R. E. Lee."

Meanwhile, the night-march of the Confederates having left the Federal forces very far behind, it was necessary to renew pursuit on the morning of the 8th. Lee's retreat was by the narrow neck of land between the Appomattox and the James, endeavoring to reach Lynchburg; and it was the aim of Sheridan's cavalry to intercept him.

Flying as he wrote, General Lee responded to General Grant:

"April 8, 1865.

"GENERAL: — I received at a late hour your note of to-day. In mine of yesterday, I did not intend to propose the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, but to ask the terms of your proposition. To be frank, *I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender of this army;* but as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desire to know whether your proposals would lead to that end. I cannot, therefore, meet you with a view to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia, but as far as your proposal may affect the Confederate States forces under my command, and tend to the restoration of peace, I should be pleased to meet you at ten A. M., to-morrow, on the old stage road to Richmond, between the picket lines of the two armies. R. E. LEE, General.

"LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT."

To this note General Grant replied the next morning:

"April 9, 1865.

"GENERAL: — Your note of yesterday is received. I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace. The meeting proposed for ten A. M., to-day, would lead to no good. I will state, however, General, that I am equally anxious for peace with yourself, and the whole North entertains the same feeling. The terms upon which peace can be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms,

they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed. Seriously hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself, &c.,

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"GENERAL R. E. LEE."

This reply was never received by General Lee.

Sheridan's cavalry reached Appomattox Station, on the Lynchburg Railroad, five miles beyond the Court-House, on the evening of the 8th. He planted himself directly in front of General Lee, and captured four trains loaded with supplies for the starving Confederates.

The last council of war of the Army of Northern Virginia was now held between Generals Lee, Longstreet, Gordon, and Fitz-Lee, and it was submitted to these officers by General Lee, to decide what should be done. It was resolved to attempt to cut through Sheridan's lines, and at dawn this was attempted. Of the proud army of Virginia there only remained about eight thousand men of Gordon's and Longstreet's corps, and the gaunt figures of some thousands of unarmed men too weak to carry their muskets. With these Gordon commenced the attack with such wonderful impetuosity that the enemy found themselves forced back nearly a mile.

At this moment Sheridan arrived from Appomattox Station, followed by a body of infantry eighty

thousand strong — the army of the James; while in the rear of the Confederates, closely pursuing, came the army of the Potomac.

General Lee had decided that the attempt must be made to cut their way through Sheridan's lines. If they had only cavalry before them, it might be effected; if infantry, then there would be no course but surrender.

After driving Sheridan's troopers, Gordon had found himself in front of the Federal infantry, and was himself forced back. When General Lee learned from Gordon that the enemy were driving him, he felt that an attempt at further resistance would involve the immolation of his brave men.

Accordingly, just as Sheridan was about to charge upon the feeble lines in front of him, a white flag was held aloft, and at the same time the following note was sent from General Lee to General Grant:

"April 9, 1865.

"GENERAL: — I received your note this morning on the picket line, whither I had come to meet you and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposition of yesterday with reference to the surrender of this army.

"I now request an interview in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday for that purpose.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
"R. E. LEE, General."

"TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT, Commanding Armies of the United States."

The interview was granted by General Grant, who replied:

"April 9, 1865.

"General R. E. Lee, commanding Confederate States Armies: — Your note of this date is but this moment, 11.59, A. M., received.

"In consequence of my having passed from the Richmond and Lynchburg Road to the Farmville and Lynchburg Road, I am, at this writing, about four miles west of Walter's Church, and will push forward to the front for the purpose of meeting you.

"Notice sent to me on this road where you wish the interview to take place, will meet me.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"U. S. Grant, Lieutenant-General."

At the house of Mr. Wilmer McLean, in the village of Appomattox Court-House, took place the meeting of the two commanders. General Lee was accompanied by his aid Colonel Marshall; General Grant, by a few of his officers.

General Grant behaved with great courtesy and delicacy. General Lee's manner, on this trying occasion, is thus described by a Federal officer.

"General Lee looked very much jaded and worn, but nevertheless presented the same magnificent *physique* for which he has always been noted. He was neatly dressed in gray cloth, without embroidery or any insignia of rank, except three stars worn on the turned portion of his coat-collar. His cheeks

were very much bronzed by exposure, but still shone ruddy beneath it all. He is growing quite bald, and wears one of the side-locks of his hair thrown across the upper portion of his forehead, which is as white and fair as a woman's. He stands fully six feet one in height, and weighs something over two hundred pounds, without being burdened with a pound of superfluous flesh. During the whole interview he was retired and dignified to a degree bordering on taciturnity, but was free from all exhibition of temper or mortification. His demeanor was that of a thoroughly possessed gentleman who had a very disagreeable duty to perform, but was determined to get through it as well and as soon as possible."

Seated at a common deal table, the following papers were exchanged:

"APPOMATTOX COURT-HOUSE, VIRGINIA,
"April 9, 1865.

"GENERAL: — In accordance with my letter to you of the 8th instant, I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit: — Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer or officers as you may designate. The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the United States until properly exchanged; and each company or regimental commander to sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery, and public property to be parked and

stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"GENERAL R. E. LEE."

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
"April 9, 1865.

"GENERAL: — I have received your letter of this date containing the terms of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia as proposed by you. As they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th instant, they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect.

"R. E. LEE, General.

"LIEUTENANT-GENERAL U. S. GRANT."

Commissioners were appointed on both sides to carry out the details of the surrender. Thus passed out of existence the Army of Northern Virginia. The able and candid historian of the "Army of the Potomac," in speaking of the achievements of the latter, adds these words, which may be accepted as a not unworthy epitaph from a generous enemy:

"Nor can there fail to arise the image of that

Nov. 1871.

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That you, who are most jealous of his fame should honor me with your approval, leads me to hope for the like indulgence from the American people to whose history he belongs. EMILY V. MASON.

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☞*AGENTS wanted in all parts of the U. S. to sell these and other Popular Works. For particulars, address* ***MURPHY & CO. Publishers, Baltimore.***

A Juvenile Life of General Lee.

This little volume, intended as a Model for American Youth, will be issued in a very neat and attractive style early in 1872.

Suggestions

other army that was the adversary of the Army of the Potomac, and which — who can ever forget that once looked upon it? — that array of "tattered uniforms and bright muskets;" that body of incomparable infantry, the Army of Northern Virginia, which for years carried the revolt on its bayonets, opposing a constant front to the mighty concentration of power brought against it, which, receiving terrible blows, did not fail to give the like, and which, vital in all its parts, died only with its annihilation."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Last Hours of the Army of Northern Virginia — The Night of Peace — General Lee's Farewell to his Army — His Reception in Richmond — His Retired Life — Testimonials of Affection and Esteem — His Noble Bearing in Adversity.

WHEN what had taken place became known to the army, whole lines broke ranks, and rushing up to their beloved commander, sobbed out words of comfort and affection, striving, with "a refinement of unselfishness and tenderness which he alone could fully appreciate, to lighten his burden, and mitigate his pain, and struggling to take him once more by the hand." In a voice broken by emotion, General Lee said: "Men, we have fought through the war together. I have done the best I could for you. My heart is too full to say more."

One of his officers* who was with him to the end, thus speaks of this scene:

"I can never forget the deferential homage paid this great citizen by even the Federal soldiers, as with uncovered heads they contemplated in mute admiration this now captive hero as he rode through their ranks. Impressed forever, daguerreotyped on my heart, is that last parting-scene with that handful of heroes still crowding around him. Few indeed were the words spoken; but the quivering lip, and the tearful eye, told of the love they bore him, in symphonies more eloquent than any language."

He is reported to have said to an officer standing by when the surrender was resolved upon: "How easily I could get rid of all this and be at rest. I have only to ride along the lines and all will be over." He then added, with a sigh, "But it is our duty to live. What will become of the women and children of the South, if we are not here to protect them?"

The victors were kind and magnanimous. No bands played; no cheers were heard save from some far off division who did not know exactly what was passing; and these were apologized for by one of the officers.

"As the armies were enemies no longer, there

* General Gordon.

was no need of martial array that night, nor fear of surprise, nor call to arms; but hostile devisement gave place to mutual helpfulness, and the victors shared their rations with the famished vanquished. In that supreme moment, these men knew and respected each other. If the one army drank the joy of victory, and the other the bitter draught of defeat, it was a joy moderated by the recollection of the cost at which it had been purchased, and a defeat mollified by the consciousness of many triumphs.

"If at length the Army of Northern Virginia fell before the massive power of the North, yet what vitality had it shown! How terrible had been the struggle! How many hundreds of brave men had fallen before that result could be achieved!" *

On the day after the capitulation, General Lee issued the following farewell address to his old soldiers:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
"April 10, 1865.

"GENERAL ORDER, No. 9.

"VETERANS OF THE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA: After four years of arduous service, marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources.

"I need not tell the survivors of so many hard-fought battles, who have remained steadfast to the

* SWINTON: *Army of the Potomac.*

last, that I have consented to this result from no distrust of them; but, feeling that valor and devotion could accomplish nothing that could compensate for the loss that would have attended the continuation of the contest, I have determined to avoid the useless sacrifice of those whose past services have endeared them to their countrymen.

"By the terms of agreement, officers and men can return to their homes and remain there until exchanged.

"You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed; and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend to you His blessing and protection.

"With an unceasing admiration of your constancy and devotion to your country, and a grateful remembrance of your kindness and generous consideration of myself, I bid you, soldiers, an affectionate farewell. R. E. Lee, General."

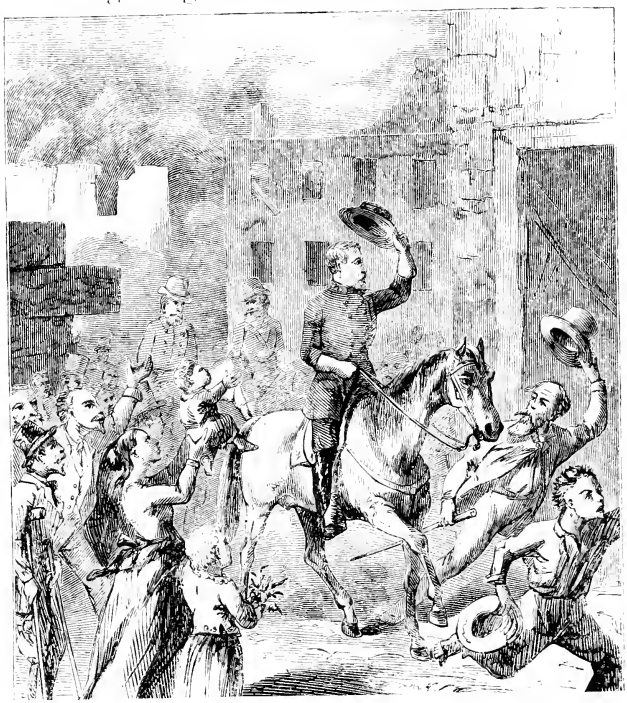
On the 12th April, the Army of Northern Virginia made their last sad march to Appomattox Court-House, where they laid down their arms and the colors under which they had fought so well.

Less than eight thousand men with arms surrendered, but the capitulation included about eighteen thousand unarmed stragglers. Major-General Gibbon received the surrender, General Grant, with great delicacy, remaining at his quarters.

General Lee had already departed for Richmond, and escorted by a detachment of Federal cavalry and

accompanied by the officers of his staff, he reached there on the evening of the 12th. All along his route, the people were looking for him, and from out their little stores the best was prepared for his refreshment.

Coming in sight of Richmond, he left his escort,



General Lee Entering Richmond after the Surrender.

and attended by a few officers, and followed by the little old ambulance which had accompanied him

in all his campaigns, he entered the desolate and ruined city. In a moment he was recognized. Men, women, and children shouted and waved him a welcome. Even the United States soldiers crowded around his door and raised their hats to salute him. It was with difficulty he could dismount. Men kissed his feet, and arms were thrown about the neck of the faithful "Traveller" who had borne him unharmed through so many dangers.

Struggling with his emotion, General Lee at length disengaged himself, and lifting his hat again and again to the crowd, took shelter within his own house.

Here he remained closely secluded, going out only after night, so as to avoid those demonstrations from the people so painful to his feelings, and which he knew would provoke censure from those inimical to him.

During this time he received the following letter from one of his old soldiers:

"DEAR GENERAL: — We have been fighting hard for four years, and now the Yankees have got us in Libby Prison. They are treating us awful bad. The boys want you to get us out, if you can. But if you can't, just ride by the Libby, and let us see you and give you a good cheer. We will all feel better after it."

All who were in Richmond at this time must remember how his doors were besieged with visitors of every class, all eager to do him honor, — how the Northern tourists, who came "on to Richmond" by the "round trip," to see the rebellious city which had cost so dear, lingered by his door in hopes to catch sight of the fallen hero; many, actuated by curiosity or interest, even penetrating into the privacy of his house. He received most kindly deputations of Federal officers who called to evince their appreciation of his character and their good feelings towards him, and every steamer which delivered its burden of returned prisoners sent a ragged and miserable deputation to look again upon the features of their beloved commander, before returning to their ruined homes. Many a touching scene occurred with these, showing the simplicity and devotion of these poor fellows.

General Lee often spoke of the pain caused him by these interviews, and how impossible it was to decline them.

One day, being called down to see some gentlemen, he found two of these "ragged rebs" in the passage, who advanced to him with the military salute, and immediately commenced to tell that they were sent as ambassadors by some fellows "round the corner," but who were too badly dressed to present themselves. They came on the part of one hundred of the "boys" just returned from the

prison of Point Lookout, to propose to General Lee to go with them to the mountains of Botetourt County, where they had five thousand acres among them. They offered him a plantation, which they would stock and work for him; and these hundred men had banded together to protect him from arrest. "Come with us," they urged; "not a whole army can take you from us there. We want to take care of you. We have heard that our President is captured, and they threaten you. Come to our mountains, where we will die in your defence." "But," said the General, "you would not have your General run away and hide. He must stay and meet his fate." And then he explained how the terms of the surrender ensured his safety, and how he relied on General Grant's word. It was with difficulty he could dissuade them from their generous purpose. At length, with his usual thoughtfulness, he sent his daughter to bring down to each a suit of his own clothing, which he begged they would accept in remembrance of him who had nothing else to offer, and as an assurance of his gratitude for their interest in his behalf. Seizing the clothing, they pressed it to their lips, and rushing to exhibit such a prize to their comrades, the General was enabled to escape from their importunities.

Another day General Lee was told a Federal soldier, an Irishman, was at the door with a basket,

who wished to speak to him. The General sent one of his nephews to tell the visitor he was busy, and begged he would excuse him. The messenger returned, saying the man would not go away, that he had brought General Lee a present of something to eat, and that he would give it only into his own hands. The General then sent word that he was in no want, and begged that what was brought to him might be taken to the Sanitary Commission, for the sick soldiers. This the man positively refused to do, and was so persistent in his determination to see General Lee, that at last he went down, when, the generous Irishman dropping his basket, which contained a ham, cheese, canned fruits, vegetables, and other luxuries, threw his arms about the astonished General, exclaiming, "I don't think the less of you for having surrendered. God bless you for a true man and a good soldier," and other expressions of affectionate admiration. The General disengaged himself, and with many thanks begged his friend to bestow the contents of his basket upon his own sick comrades; in vain, so the gifts were retained until the next day, when they were transferred to the "Sanitary."

There occurred at this time another visit from one of these warm-hearted Irishmen. He was met at the door by a member of General Lee's family, who asked that the General might be excused, as he was very busy writing. "I know he is busy,"

said the visitor: "I will detain him but one moment. I only want to take him by the hand." At this instant, the General, passing through the entry, heard these words, and came forward, offering his hand, which was grasped with intense emotion. "I have come all the way from Baltimore to take your hand. I have three sons born during the war, Beauregard, Fitz-Lee, and Robert Lee. My wife would never forgive me if I should go home without seeing you. God bless you!" And with this outburst he departed.

At this time, while smarting under the mortification of defeat, no one ever knew him to utter a word of bitterness or ill-feeling towards the Northern people. Hearing such sentiments uttered by the young people who crowded about him, he constantly rebuked them, setting an example of moderation and charity which it was impossible for them not to wish to imitate.* He did everything to

* The following anecdote will illustrate this noble trait of General Lee's character: The day after the great battle of Spottsylvania Court-House, General Lee was standing near his lines, conversing with two of his officers, one of whom was known to be not only a hard fighter and a hard swearer, but a cordial hater of the Yankees. After a silence of some moments, the latter officer, looking at the enemy with a dark scowl on his face, exclaimed most emphatically, "I wish they were all dead." General Lee, with the grace and manner peculiar to himself, replied, "How can you say so, General. Now I wish they were all at home, attending to their own business, leaving us to do the same." He then moved off, when the first speaker waiting until he was out of earshot, turned to his companion, and in the most earnest tones said, "I would not say so before General Lee, but I wish they were all

reconcile his people to their fate, by bearing his own so cheerfully. When he heard them threaten to leave the country and seek homes in foreign lands, he would remind them that if they really loved the South, it was their duty to remain and strive to bind up her bleeding wounds. And to this end did he labor, and to these young men did he devote himself from this time to his death, refusing places of emolument in several of the great cities of the North and South, declining estates offered him in England and Ireland, where he had many admirers,* nobly replying, "I am deeply grateful, but I

dead *and in hell!*" When this "amendment" to the wish was afterwards repeated to General Lee, in spite of his goodness, he could not refrain from laughing heartily at the speech, which was so characteristic of one of his favorite officers.

* Mr. George Long, of England, in a note to the Second Edition of his translation of the "Thoughts of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus," after disclaiming a dedication inserted without his knowledge in the American reprint, says: "I have never dedicated a book to any man, and if I dedicated this, I should choose the man whose name seemed to me most worthy to be joined to that of the Roman soldier and philosopher. I might dedicate the book to the successful General who is now President of the United States, with the hope that his integrity and justice will restore peace and happiness, so far as he can, to those unhappy States which have suffered so much from war and the unrelenting hostility of wicked men. But, as the Roman poet said:

"'Victrix causa Deis placuit, sed victa Catoni;'

and if I dedicated this little book to any man, I would dedicate it to him who led the Confederate armies against the powerful invader, and retired from an unequal contest defeated, but not dishonored; to the noble Virginian soldier, whose talents and virtues place him by the side of the best and wisest man who sat on the throne of the Imperial Cæsars."

cannot consent to desert my native State in the hour of her adversity. I must abide her fortunes and share her fate."

He was heard to say that he had yet a mission to fulfil to the young men of his country; and beautiful and appropriate was it that those who had fought under his banner should now come to learn science and philosophy at his feet.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

He is Offered the Presidency of Washington College — Letter of Acceptance — Installation — Condition of the College — His Earnest Devotion to his New Duties — Influence of his Character and Example — His Valuable Services to the College.

DURING the summer of this year, while General Lee was with a friend in the country, he received a visit from Judge John W. Brockenborough, Rector of Washington College, Lexington, Virginia, inviting him, on the part of the Trustees, to accept the presidency of that institution. To this invitation General Lee made the following reply:

"POWHATAN COUNTY, August 24, 1865.

"GENTLEMEN: — I have delayed for some days replying to your letter of the 5th instant informing me of my election, by the board of Trustees, to the

Presidency of Washington College, from a desire to give the subject due consideration. Fully impressed with the responsibilities of the office, I have feared that I should be unable to discharge its duties to the satisfaction of the Trustees, or to the benefit of the country. The proper education of youth requires not only great ability, but, I fear, more strength than I now possess; for I do not feel able to undergo the labor of conducting classes in regular courses of instruction. I could not, therefore, undertake more than the general administration and supervision of the institution.

"There is another subject which has caused me serious reflection, and is, I think, worthy of the consideration of the Board. Being excluded from the terms of amnesty in the proclamation of the United States of the 29th of May last, and an object of censure to a portion of the country, I have thought it probable that my occupation of the position of president might draw upon the college a feeling of hostility, and I should therefore cause injury to an institution which it would be my highest object to advance.

"I think it the duty of every citizen, in the present condition of the country, to do all in his power to aid in the restoration of peace and harmony, and in no way to oppose the policy of the State or general Government directed to that object. It is particularly incumbent on those charged with the instruction of the young to set them an example of submission to authority, and I could not consent to be the cause of animadversion upon the college.

Should you, however, take a different view, and think that my services, in the position tendered me by the Board, will be advantageous to the college and the country, I will yield to your judgment and accept it; otherwise I must most respectfully decline the offer.

"Begging you to express to the Trustees of the college my heartfelt gratitude for the honor conferred upon me, and requesting you to accept my cordial thanks for the kind manner in which you have communicated its decision,

"I am, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

"R. E. Lee.

"Messrs. John W. Brockenborough, *Rector*.
Ch. M. D. Reid; Alfred Leyburn; Horatio Thomson, D. D.; Bolivar Christian; T. J. Kilpatrick, *Committee*."

His delicate scruples being overcome, General Lee accepted the position pressed upon him, and on the 2d of October was installed in the office. The ceremonies on this occasion are thus described by an eye-witness.

"General Robert E. Lee was to-day installed President of Washington College. There was no pomp or parade. The exercises of installation were the simplest possible — an exact compliance with the required formula of taking the oath by the new president, and nothing more. This was in accordance with the special request of General Lee. It was proposed to have the installation take place in the

college chapel, to send invitations far and wide, to have a band of music to play enlivening airs, to have young girls robed in white and bearing chaplets of flowers, to sing songs of welcome, to have congratulatory speeches, to make it a holiday. That this proposed programme was not carried out was a source of severe disappointment to many. But General Lee had expressed his wishes contrary to the choice and determination of the college Trustees and the multitude, and his wishes were complied with.

"The installation took place at 9 A. M., in a recitation room of the college. In this room were seated the Faculty and the students, the ministers of the town churches, a magistrate, and the county clerk; the last officials being necessary to the ceremonial. General Lee was ushered into the room by the Board of Trustees. Upon his entrance and introduction all in the room rose, bowed, and then resumed their seats. Prayer by the Rev. Dr. White, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, directly followed. To me it was a noticeable fact, and perhaps worthy of record, that he prayed for the President of the United States.

"Altogether, it was a most fitting and impressive prayer.

"The prayer ended, Judge Brockenborough, chairman of the Board of Trustees, stated the object of their coming together, to install General Lee as President of Washington College. He felt the serious dignity of the occasion, but it was a seriousness and dignity that should be mingled with heart-

felt joy and gladness. Passing a brief eulogy upon General Lee, he congratulated the Board and College, and its present and future students, on having obtained one so loved, great, and worthy to preside over the college. General Lee remained standing, his arms quietly folded, and calmly and steadfastly looking into the eyes of the speaker. Justice William White, at the instance of Judge Brockenborough, now administered the oath of office to General Lee.

"For the benefit of those curious to know the nature of this new oath, to which General Lee has just subscribed, I will give it entire. It is as follows:

"'I do swear that I will, to the best of my skill and judgment, faithfully and truly discharge the duties required of me by an Act entitled "An Act for the incorporating the Rector and Trustees of Liberty Hall Academy," without favor, affection, or partiality: so help me God.'

"To this oath General Lee at once affixed his signature, with the accompanying usual jurat of the swearing magistrate appended. The document, in the form stated, was handed to the county clerk for safe and perpetual custodianship, and at the same time the keys of the college were given up by the Rector into the keeping of the new President.

"A congratulatory shaking of hands followed, and wound up the day's brief but pleasing, impressive, and memorable ceremonial. President Lee and those of the Trustees present, with the Faculty, now passed into the room set apart for the use of the President — a good-sized room, newly and very tastefully furnished.

"General Lee was dressed in a plain but elegant suit of gray. His appearance indicated the enjoyment of good health — better, I should say, than when he surrendered his army at Appomattox Court-House, the first and only occasion before the present, of my having seen him."

There was nothing to tempt ambition in this position, still less did it promise to secure to General Lee that ease and repose which his wearied mind and body must have coveted.

The war had left the college a wreck; — its library robbed, the buildings torn and defaced; the Faculty, few in number, were disorganized and dispirited, and its endowment was so small that it was doubtful if the institution could be put in condition to receive students. But these difficulties, which would have discouraged another, only stimulated General Lee's ardor to enter a field which promised a life of labor and usefulness.

"The same high principle of action that had characterized his conduct in the gravest crisis of public affairs marked his decision here; and here, as ever, *duty* alone determined his choice." *

He had resolved to continue to labor for his country, and here was a sphere opened to him, uncongenial, it is true, and opposed to the active

* "General Lee as a College President." — *University Monthly*, March, 1871.

habits of his former life, but one in which he found opportunity for great usefulness, and in which he developed an ability and displayed a power only second to that which he had shown in the career for which nature and education had designed him.

The influence of his great name brought contributions to the college even from foreign lands, and students flocked to him from all parts of the South, and some even from the North, eager to profit by his teaching and his example.

Although many offers were made to him during his residence at Lexington, promising him ease and emolument, he steadily refused to abandon the task he had assumed.*

* Soon after he took charge of Washington College, he was visited by the agent of an insurance company, who offered him the presidency at a salary of ten thousand dollars. He told the agent that he could not give up his position in the college, and could not properly attend to both. "But, General," said the agent, "we do not want you to discharge any duties. We simply wish the use of your name; that will abundantly compensate us."

"Excuse me, sir," was the prompt and decided rejoinder. "I cannot consent to receive pay for services I do not render."

He received many offers of this sort, and just a short time before his death, a large manufacturing company in New York offered him a salary of fifty thousand dollars a year if he would become their president. But to all such offers he had the same reply — "his duty in the college fully occupied his time, and he would not receive pay where he did not render service."

He refused to receive from the college anything like so large a salary as they desired to pay him; and when the Trustees deeded to Mrs. Lee a house and annuity of three thousand dollars, the General respectfully declined, on Mrs. Lee's behalf, to accept it.

He declined all gratuities; and though a loving people, for

When asked by a friend what could induce him to "undertake that broken-down institution," — "I have a mission to fulfil," he replied, and nobly did he perform it. The students were taught to regard him as their friend, and his relation to them partook of the tender watchfulness of a parent. Not only was their intellectual training the object of his careful solicitude, but he desired above all things their spiritual welfare.

As a disciplinarian, he was careful that no falsehood or dishonorable conduct should be overlooked. But, at the same time, he was tolerant of mere thoughtlessness and the faults of high-spirited youth. Though exacting obedience to lawful authority, he was cautious in the administration of punishment, and so tender and mild in his reproofs, that nothing was more dreaded by the students than a rebuke from General Lee. It has been said by one of the professors * that the whole college felt his influence, and that his character was quietly yet irresistibly impressed upon it, not only in the general working of all its departments, but in all the details of each.

"In the latter years of his administration, hardly a single case of serious discipline occurred. We

whom he had toiled so heroically, would most joyously have settled on him a handsome property, he preferred to earn his daily bread by his personal exertion, and to set to his people an example of honest industry. — *Christian Observer.*

* Professor Joynes. — *University Monthly,* March, 1871.

doubt, indeed, whether at any other college in the world so many young men could have been found as free from misconduct, or marked by as high a tone of feeling and opinion, as were the students of Washington College during these latter years of General Lee's life."

He rarely came before the students in the full dignity of his official capacity. The addresses made on these occasions were called by the boys his "General Orders," and were always respected and obeyed. One of these is given in the article from which we have quoted.*

"WASHINGTON COLLEGE, Nov. 26, 1866.

"The Faculty desire to call the attention of the students to the disturbances which occurred in the streets of Lexington on the nights of Friday and Saturday last. They believe that none can contemplate them with pleasure, or can find any reasonable grounds for their justification. These acts are said to have been committed by students of the College, with the apparent object of disturbing the peace and quiet of a town whose inhabitants have opened their doors for their reception and accommodation, and who are always ready to administer to their comfort and pleasure.

"It requires but little consideration to see the error of such conduct, which could only have pro-

* "General Lee as President of a College."—*University Monthly*, March, 1871.

ceeded from thoughtlessness and a want of reflection. The Faculty therefore appeal to the honor and self-respect of the students to prevent any similar occurrence, trusting that their sense of what is due to themselves, their parents, and the institution to which they belong, will be more effectual in teaching them what is right and manly, than anything they can say.

"There is one consideration connected with these disorderly proceedings, which the Faculty wish to bring to your particular notice: the example of your conduct, and the advantage taken of it by others to commit outrages for which you have to bear the blame. They therefore exhort you to adopt the only course capable of shielding you from such charges — the effectual prevention of all such occurrences in future.

"R. E. Lee,
"President Washington College."

His administration of the duties of his office was most thorough and laborious. Every part of the institution fell under his searching eye, and he never shrank from the dryest business affairs in its connection. It was said of him that he gave himself to the duties of President of a college as heartily and entirely as if he had never known any other ambition. To an old comrade in arms he wrote: "I am charmed with the duties of civil life." In them he found solace and relief from the memories of the painful past.

The marked ability displayed by General Lee in this office made it readily admitted by those who saw the results of his admirable plans for the improvement of the college, that, had he lived long enough to complete them, he would have attained an eminence in his new profession as great as in his military career As it was, "he found the college," says the author above quoted, "practically bankrupt, disorganized, deserted; he left it rich, strong, and crowded with students. He called into existence the schools of Applied Mathematics, and Engineering and of Law, as part of the collegiate organization, and later he submitted to the Trustees a plan for the complete development of the scientific and professional departments of the college, which will ever remain as an example of his enlarged wisdom, and which has anticipated by many years, we fear, the practical attainments of any school in the country. Had this been the profession of his life, General Lee would not have been less famous, relatively, among college presidents than he is now among soldiers," — an exemplification of Dr. Johnson's definition of genius: a mind of large general powers accidentally determined to some particular direction.

"This life at Washington College, so devoted, so earnest, so laborious, so full of far-reaching plans and of wise and successful effort, was begun under the weight of a disappointment which might have

broken any ordinary strength, and was maintained, in the midst of public and private misfortune, with a serene patience and a mingled firmness and sweetness of temper, that give additional brilliancy even to the glory of his former fame. It was his high privilege to meet alike the temptations and perils of the highest stations before the eyes of the world, and the cares and labors of the most responsible duties of private life under the most trying circumstances, and to exhibit in all alike the qualities of a great and consistent character, founded in the noblest endowments, and sustained by the loftiest principles of virtue and religion. It is a privilege, henceforth, for the teachers of our country, that their profession, in its humble yet arduous labors, its great and its petty cares, has been illustrated by the devotion of such a man. It is an honor for all our colleges that one of them is henceforth identified with the memory of his name and his work. It is a boon for us all: an honor to the country which in its whole length and breadth will soon be proud to claim his fame; an honor to human nature itself, that this great character, so often and so severely tried, has thus approved itself consistent, serene and grand, alike in peace and in war, in the humblest as well as the highest offices. Among the monuments which shall perpetuate his fame, not the least honorable will be that which shall commemorate his life at Washington College." *

* *University Monthly*, March, 1871.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Summoned before the Reconstruction Committee — His Testimony — Letters to a Friend — Incidents illustrating his Character — His Last Illness — Death — Funeral Rites.

IN March, 1866, General Lee was summoned to Washington by the Congressional Committee on Reconstruction, with which summons he promptly complied; and it is difficult to say whether we are most amazed at the questions which were there submitted to him, or the temper and forbearance with which he replied to them. Besides being asked the thoughts and opinions of the Southern people on every point social and political, he was required to give his views of the position, capacity, and future prospects of the colored race. Among the one hundred questions asked, were the following:

Q. By Mr. Howard. "Do they (the colored men) show a capacity to obtain knowledge of mathematics and the exact sciences?" *A.* "I have no knowledge on that subject. I am merely acquainted with those who have learned the common rudiments of education."

Q. "I wish to inquire whether you had any knowledge of the cruelties practised toward the Union prisoners at Libby Prison and on Belle Isle?" *A.* "I never knew that any cruelty was

practised, and I have no reason to believe that it was practised. I can believe, and have reason to believe, that privations may have been experienced by the prisoners, because I know that provisions and shelter could not be provided for them."

Q. "Were you not aware that the prisoners were dying from cold and starvation?" *A.* "I was not."

Q. "Did these scenes come to your knowledge at all?" *A.* "Never. No report was ever made to me about them. There was no call for any to be made to me. I did hear — it was mere hearsay — that statements had been made to the War Department, and that everything had been done to relieve them that could be done, even finally so far as to offer to send them to some other points,—Charleston was one point named,—if they would be received by the United States authorities and taken to their homes; but whether this is true or not, I do not know." . . . .

Q. "And of course you know nothing of the scenes of cruelty about which complaints have been made at those places (Andersonville and Salisbury)?" *A.* "Nothing in the world, as I said before. I suppose they suffered from want of ability on the part of the Confederate States to supply their wants. At the very beginning of the war, I knew that there was suffering of prisoners on both sides, but, as far as I could, I did everything in my power to relieve them, and to establish the cartel which was established."

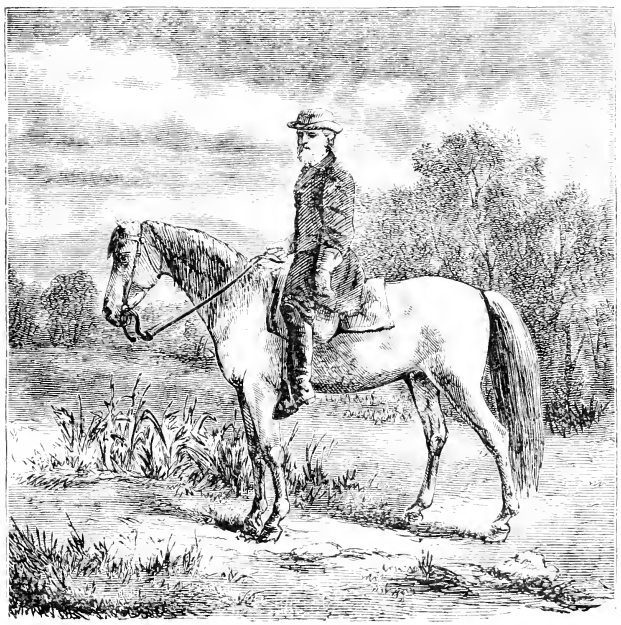
Q. "It has been frequently asserted that the Confederate soldiers feel more kindly towards the

government of the United States than any other people of the South. What are your observations on that point?" *A.* "From the Confederate soldiers I have heard no expression of any other opinion. They looked upon the war as a necessary evil, and went through it. I have seen them relieve the wants of Federal soldiers on the field. The orders always were that the whole field should be treated alike. Parties were sent out to take the Federal wounded as well as the Confederate, and the surgeons were told to treat the one as they did the other. These orders given by me were respected on every field."

Q. "Do you think that the good feeling on their part toward the rest of the people has continued since the close of the war?" *A.* "I know nothing to the contrary. I made several efforts to exchange the prisoners after the cartel was suspended. I do not know to this day which side took the initiative. I know that there were constant complaints on both sides. I merely know it from public rumors. I offered to General Grant around Richmond that we should ourselves exchange all the prisoners in our hands. There was a communication from the Christian Commission, I think, which reached me at Petersburg, and made an application to me for a passport to visit all the prisoners South. My letter to them I suppose they have. I told them I had not that authority; that it could only be obtained from the War Department at Richmond, but that neither they nor I could relieve the suffering of the prisoners; that the only thing to be done for them

was to exchange them; and to show that I would do whatever was in my power, I offered them to send to City Point all the prisoners in Virginia and North Carolina over which my command extended, provided they returned an equal number of mine man for man. I reported this to the War Department, and received for answer that they would place at my command all the prisoners at the South if the proposition was accepted. I heard nothing more on the subject."

He was also called as a witness in the proposed



GENERAL LEE AND TRAVELLER.

trial of Mr. Davis; and these were the only occasions on which he appeared before the public after the surrender.

The three following years he continued to devote himself to his college duties, with occasional absences in pursuit of that health which now began perceptibly to fail him. On one of these occasions, at the Green Brier White Sulphur, occurred a scene which showed the devotion mixed with awe with which he was regarded by his old soldiers. About twenty of these came in from the mountains to visit him, many of them very roughly dressed, and some without coats. They ranged themselves in the drawing-room to meet him. The General descended, and shaking hands, greeted them alternately in his genial way. Not one spoke, but all regarded him with devouring eyes in which the tears glistened.

In Norfolk, where he went to visit his old friend and physician, Dr. Selden, a still more touching reception awaited him. He had written to beg that in consideration of his being so unwell, he might be suffered to come and go unnoticed, and be excused from visits. Great care was taken that this request should be known and complied with. Finding no "committee" at the station, General Lee walked off greatly relieved. But what was his dismay when at every turn a hat was doffed to him. Every man who met him uncovered. When he left church,

the congregation formed on each side the steps, and as he descended, every hat was lifted. This was still more oppressive to the poor General's feelings, and he hurried away to escape the exhibition of such delicate devotion.

The following letters were addressed to Captain May, of Illinois, who kindly interested himself in endeavoring to recover for Mrs. Lee the Washington relics bequeathed her by her father, which had been taken from Arlington.

"LEXINGTON, February 12, 1869.

" . . . Mrs. Lee has determined to act upon your suggestion, and apply to President Johnson for such of the relics from Arlington as are in the Patent Office. From what I have learned, a great many things formerly belonging to General Washington, bequeathed to her by her father, in the shape of books, furniture, camp equipage, &c., were carried away by individuals, and are now scattered over the land. I hope the possessors appreciate them, and may imitate the example of their original owner, whose conduct must at times be brought to their recollection by these silent monitors. In this way they will accomplish good to the country."

After President Johnson had given his consent to the removal of these articles, Congress appointed an investigating committee to consider the propriety of allowing it, and decided in the negative.

"LEXINGTON, March 12, 1869.

"MY DEAR CAPTAIN.

"I am sorry to learn from your letters the trouble you have incurred by your kind endeavors to have restored to Mrs. Lee certain articles taken from Arlington, and I particularly regret the inconvenience occasioned to yourself and Mr. Browning in having been summoned before the Investigating Committee of Congress. I had not supposed that the subject could have been considered of such importance, and had I conceived the view taken of it by Congress, I should have dissuaded Mrs. Lee from making the application. But I thought that there would not only have been no objection to restoring to her family relics bequeathed her by her father, now that the occasion for their seizure had passed, but that the Government would thus be relieved of their disposition. . . . ."

General Lee was a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, but was entirely free from all sectarian feeling.

An anecdote given by an officer of the Engineers illustrates his truly Christian charity and moderation.

During the last sad days at Petersburg, a soldier who had been in the habit of asking for furloughs very often, sent up a petition to General Lee, asking to go to Richmond for the Passover, he being an Israelite. His captain, in wrath, indorsed upon the paper, "If all these sorts of applications are

granted, we shall soon have the whole army turning shaking Quakers." General Lee sent back the petition with a kind note to the soldier, regretting that the exigencies of the times prevented his acceding to a request so natural and proper; and below the captain's indorsement he wrote: "We should always have charity for those who differ from us in religion, and give every man all the aid in our power to keep to the requirements of his faith."

His delicacy in giving reproofs is exhibited in two incidents related by one of his chaplains.

Upon one occasion, while inspecting the lines near Petersburg, with several general officers, he asked General —— if a certain work, which he had directed him to complete as soon as possible, had been finished. General —— looked rather confused, but answered that it was. General Lee at once proposed to ride in that direction. On getting to the place, it was found that no progress had been made on the work since General Lee was last there. General —— at once apologized, and said that he had not been on that part of the line for some time, but that Captain —— had told him that the work was completed. General Lee made no reply at the moment, but not long after began to compliment General —— on the splendid horse he rode. "Yes, sir," replied General ——, "he is a very fine animal. He belongs to my wife." "A remarkably

fine horse," returned General Lee, "but not a safe one for Mrs. ——. He is too mettlesome by far, and you ought to take the mettle out of him before you permit her to ride him. And let me suggest, General ——, that an admirable way of doing that is *to ride him a good deal along these trenches.*" The face of the gallant General —— turned crimson. General Lee's eyes twinkled with mischief. No further allusion was made to the matter; but General —— *adopted the suggestion.*

Late one night, General Lee had occasion to go into a tent where several officers were sitting around a table, on which was *a stone jug and two tin cups*, busily engaged in the discussion of a mathematical problem. The General obtained the information he desired, gave a solution of the problem, and retired, the officers hoping that he had not noticed the jug. The next day one of these officers, in presence of the others, related to General Lee a very strange dream he had had the night before. "That is not at all surprising," replied the General; "when young gentlemen discuss at midnight mathematical problems, the unknown quantities of which are a stone jug and two tin cups, they may expect to have strange dreams."

A friend, who had known General Lee in his early days, tells us in a letter, how early were formed those habits of self-restraint and self-denial which were so conspicuous in his character.

"When an Assistant Professor at West Point, he told me it was the custom of the officers to meet just before dinner, to partake of some 'refreshment,' and that for a time he found himself arranging to finish his round of business so as to meet this company, it being a very pleasant daily reunion. But finding after a while that he began to look to it with great eagerness, and fearing that a habit might be formed which would prove injurious to him, he ceased to attend the meetings, and determined never to 'indulge' at all."

While President of Washington College, General Lee was present, one evening, when a party of gentlemen were discussing some recent legislation of Congress upon Southern affairs. They spoke with indignation and bitterness of the unjust and ungenerous treatment of the South. General Lee remained silent; but when the conversation was over, wrote the following lines upon a slip of paper and handed them to the gentlemen, saying, "If a heathen poet could write in this way, what should be the feeling of a Christian?"

"Learn from yon orient shell to love thy foe,
And store with pearls the hand that brings thee woe.
Free, like yon rock, from base, vindictive pride,
Emblaze with gems the wrist that rends thy side.
Mark, where yon tree rewards the stony shower
With fruit nectareous or the balmy flower.
All nature cries aloud, — Shall man do less
Than heal the smiter, and the railer bless?"

No Life of General Lee would be complete which did not dwell upon that most distinguishing trait of his character, his unaffected sweetness, which sprang from the goodness of his heart. He was so tender-hearted, that a message from one of his old soldiers was seen to move him to tears. And a gentleman relates how he once saw him in a railroad-car approach a poor soldier who in vain was trying to draw his overcoat over his wounded arm. The General rose from his seat, put on the coat as gently as a woman would have done, and after speaking some pleasant words, quietly resumed his place, the wounded man little knowing that it was his General who had rendered him this kindly service.

His charities were so private, that it was known only after his death how much he had given to the orphan and widow and to different religious associations. His last act was to attend a meeting of the vestry of his church, and his last gift a contribution to some good object.

The following, the last letter ever penned by his hand, has been kindly furnished by his friend, Mr. S. H. Tagart, of Baltimore:

"LEXINGTON, Va., Sept. 28, 1870.

"MY DEAR MR. TAGART.

"Your kind note of the 26th reached me this morning, and see how easy it is 'to inveigle me into a correspondence.' In fact, when a man desires to do a thing, or when a thing gives a man

pleasure, he requires but small provocation to induce him to do it. Now I wanted to hear how you and Mrs. Tagart were, what you were doing, and how you had passed the summer, and I desired to tell you so. That is the reason I write. In answer to your question, I reply that I am much better. I do not know whether it is owing to having seen you and Dr. Buckler last summer, or to my visit to the Hot Springs. Perhaps both. But my pains are less, and my strength greater. In fact, I suppose I am as well as I shall be. I am still following Dr. B.'s directions, and in time I may improve still more. I expect to have to visit Baltimore this fall, in relation to the Valley R. R., and in that event I hope to see you, if you will permit me. I am glad to hear that you spent a pleasant summer. Colonel —— and I would have had a more agreeable one had you been with us at the *Hot*, and as every place agrees so well with Mrs. Tagart, I think she could have enjoyed as good health there as at Saratoga, and we should have done better.

"Give my sincere regards to Mrs. Tagart, and remember me to all friends, particularly Mr. ——. Tell —— his brother is well and handsome, and I hope that he will study, or his sweethearts in Baltimore will not pine for him long.

"Captain —— is well and busy, and joins in my remembrances. Mrs. Lee and my daughters unite with me in messages to you and Mrs. Tagart, and I am most truly yours,

"R. E. Lee.

"S. H. Tagart, Esq."

On the evening of this day, 28th of September, after a morning of great fatigue, he attended the vestry meeting referred to, returned home, and, seated at the tea-table, opened his lips to give thanks to God.

The family looked up to see the parted lips, but heard no sound. With that last thanksgiving his great heart broke.

For many days his weeping friends hung over him, hoping for a return of health and reason, but in vain. He murmured of battles and sieges; of guarded tents and fields just won. Among his last words were: "Strike my tent! Send for Hill!" Remarkably coincident with those of his great Lieutenant, Jackson, whose words were: "Let A. P. Hill prepare for action! March the infantry rapidly to the front! Let us cross the river and rest under the shade of the trees."

At 9 o'clock on the morning of the 12th of October, the great soldier breathed his last.

The following day his body was borne to the college-chapel, escorted by a guard of honor composed of Confederate soldiers. Next the hearse was led General Lee's favorite horse "Traveller," * who had borne him in so many battles. The Trustees and Faculty of the college, the cadets of the Military Institute, and the citizens, followed in procession.

Above the chapel floated the flag of Virginia draped in mourning.

* "Traveller" only survived his master a few months.

Through this and the succeeding day, the body, covered with flowers, lay in state, visited by thousands who came to look for the last time upon his noble features.

On the 15th, the last sad rites were rendered, amid the tolling of bells, the sound of martial music, and the thundering of artillery.

The students, officers and soldiers of the Confederate army, and about a thousand persons, assembled at the chapel. A military escort, with the officers of General Lee's staff, were in the front. The hearse followed, with the faithful "Traveller" close behind it. Next came a committee of the Virginia Legislature, with citizens from all parts of the State. Passing the Military Institute, the cadets made the military salute as the body appeared, then joined the procession, and escorted it back to the chapel.

It had been the request of General Lee that no funeral oration should be pronounced over his remains. His old and long-tried friend, the Rev. Wm. N. Pendleton, simply read the burial services of the Episcopal Church, after which was lowered into a tomb beneath the chapel all that was mortal of Robert E. Lee.

We cannot better close this brief history than in the words of one of his Northern admirers,* who says of him:

* Hon. John E. Ward.

"He lived to illustrate to the world how, despite failure and defeat, a soldier could command honor and love from those for whom he struggled, and admiration and respect from his foes, such as no success had ever before won for warrior, prince, or potentate. And when his life was ended, the whole population of the South, forming one mighty funeral procession, followed him to his grave. His obsequies modestly performed by those most tenderly allied to him, he sleeps in the bosom of the land he loved so well. His spotless fame will gather new vigor and freshness from the lapse of time, and the day is not distant when that fame will be claimed, not as the property of a section, but as the heritage of a united people."

APPENDIX.

WE need offer no apology for giving, in an Appendix, a brief summary of the history of Washington College, now the Washington and Lee University.

It is remarkable that the institution which enjoyed the munificence and inherited the name of the hero of the first American Revolution, should have opened its arms to receive, in his retirement, the foremost man of the second; that the College which was fostered by Washington should have become the refuge of Lee, and should keep as its rich dowry the blended names and memories of these two peerless characters.

The careers, as well as the characters of these two great men, offer an interesting parallel. Both engaged reluctantly, but earnestly and from a strong sense of duty, in a rebellion against an established government. Both of them came into the contest at an age of matured judgment and ripe experience, enjoying at the outset the full confidence and affection of their countrymen. Both encountered early in the struggle difficulties and disasters that seemed about to overwhelm them, and yet emerged from the "sea of troubles" *facile princeps;* and finally both added a crown of civic glory to the garland of military fame, endearing themselves anew in peace to those whom they had served so faithfully in war.

I.

The Washington and Lee University.

The Washington and Lee University had its origin more than a quarter of a century before the Revolution, in a classical and mathematical school established in Augusta County, in the year 1749. Its founder, Robert Alexander, Master of Arts from Trinity College, Dublin University, was one of the Scotch-Irish emigrants who had located in the Valley of Virginia. It was to meet the wants of this considerable settlement that this, the first high school in the Valley started into existence, to be afterwards developed to the proportions of a college as the community enlarged and prospered. Founded by members of the Scotch kirk, it was for a long while under the control and patronage of the Presbytery of Hanover, and during this period it was supplied with funds through the annual contributions of the people.

Its locality was changed several times, and its name went through similar mutations. It was originally known as the "Augusta Academy." After the first battles of the Revolution, it was patriotically christened "Liberty Hall;" afterwards changed to "Washington College," in acknowledgment of General Washington's gift to the institution.

William Graham, one of the early principals of the academy, was a friend and fellow-student, at Princeton, of General Henry Lee, the father of General Robert Lee. It has been suggested that it was probably through Lee's influence with Washington, on behalf of his friend Graham, that "Liberty Hall" was selected as the recipient of his noble benefaction.

Mr. Graham, under whose able and zealous administra-

tion the College greatly flourished, introduced the same course of study pursued at Princeton, his *alma mater;* and the MS. lectures of the President of Princeton College were copied for the use of the students.

In 1782, the College received a charter from the Legislature, and was after that time managed by trustees, its connection with the Presbytery being dissolved.

Removed, in 1785, to within a short distance of Lexington, it was, upon the destruction of the building by fire, in 1803, finally established within the town limits.

In 1793, General Washington settled upon the College the sum of $50,000, the proceeds of stock presented him by the State of Virginia in gratitude for his services during the Revolution, and accepted by him on the sole condition that it should be applied to some such object. He wrote, upon this occasion, to the Governor of Virginia:

"After careful inquiries to ascertain that place [in the upper country*], I have, upon the fullest consideration of all circumstances, destined the hundred shares in the James River Company to the use of Liberty Hall Academy, in Rockbridge County."

To the Board of Trustees he wrote:

"To promote literature in this rising empire, and to encourage the arts, have ever been amongst the warmest wishes of my heart; and if the donation which the generosity of the Legislature of the Commonwealth has enabled me to bestow upon Liberty Hall — now, by your politeness, called Washington Academy — is likely to

* His desire was to endow some institution "in the upper part of the State, for the education of the children of the poor, particularly of such as have fallen in defence of the country."

prove a means to accomplish these ends, it will contribute to the gratification of my desires."

The "Society of the Cincinnati," composed of the surviving officers of the Revolution, upon dissolving their association in 1803, anxious to emulate their leader, donated the residue of their funds, amounting to nearly $25,000, to the same institution. In 1826, an old soldier of Washington, one of the Trustees of the College, John Robinson, an Irishman, left to Washington College his entire estate, amounting, at the time, to $75,000.

Thus, endowed by Washington and his compatriots, and associated preëminently with Virginia's historic past, this College seemed peculiarly appropriate as the scene of the closing labors of him whose great name, entwined with that of Washington, gives to the Lexington University the title by which it will be known to posterity.

II.

The Funeral of General Lee.

Lexington, Va., October 15, 1870.

The funeral obsequies of General Robert E. Lee took place here to-day. The day was clear and pleasant, and many persons were present from a distance and from the surrounding country. Delegations from cities and Houses of the Legislature arrived in the morning to attend the funeral. To-day, as upon the past three days, all business was suspended, and every house was in mourning.

The National Hotel, churches of various denominations, the "Gazette" office, and public buildings, were draped in mourning, flags were draped and at half-mast, bells were tolled and minute-guns fired during the mov-

ing of the procession and the services at the chapel. At 10 o'clock the procession formed into line under Professor White, of Washington College, Chief Marshal, aided by twenty Assistant Marshals, in the following order:

MUSIC.

ESCORT OF HONOR, CONSISTING OF OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE CONFEDERATE ARMY.
CHAPLAIN AND OTHER CLERGY.
HEARSE AND PALL-BEARERS.
GENERAL LEE'S HORSE.
THE ATTENDING PHYSICIANS.
TRUSTEES AND FACULTY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE.
DIGNITARIES OF THE STATE OF VIRGINIA.
VISITORS AND FACULTY OF VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE.
OTHER REPRESENTATIVE BODIES AND DISTINGUISHED VISITORS.
ALUMNI OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE.
CITIZENS.
CADETS VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE.
STUDENTS OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE AS GUARD OF HONOR.

The procession was halted in front of the chapel, when the cadets of the Institute and the students of Washington College were marched through the College chapel past the remains, and were afterwards drawn up in two bodies on the south side of the chapel. The remainder of the procession then proceeded into the chapel and were seated under the direction of the marshals. The gallery and side blocks were reserved for ladies.

As the procession moved off to a solemn dirge by the Institute band, the bells of the town began to toll, and the Institute battery fired minute-guns, which were kept up during the whole exercises.

Along the streets the buildings were all appropriately

draped, and crowds gathered on the corners and in the balconies to see the procession pass. Not a flag floated above the procession, and nothing was seen that looked like an attempt at display. The old soldiers wore their ordinary citizens' dress, with a simple black ribbon in the lapel of their coats, and "Traveller," led by two old soldiers, who had the simple trappings of mourning.

The Virginia Military Institute was very beautifully draped, and from its turrets hung at half-mast, and draped in mourning, the flags of all of the States of the late Southern Confederacy.

When the procession reached the Institute it passed the corps of cadets drawn up in line, and a guard of honor presented arms as the hearse passed. When it reached the chapel, where an immense throng had assembled, the students and cadets, about 650 strong, marched into the left door and aisle past the remains and out by the right aisle and door to their appropriate place. The rest of the procession then filed in.

The family, appropriately joined by Drs. Barton and Madison, the attending physicians, and Colonels W. H. Taylor and C. S. Venanble, members of General Lee's staff during the war, occupied seats immediately in front of the pulpit, and the clergy, of whom a number were present. The Faculty of the College and Faculty of the Institute had places on the platform.

The coffin was literally covered with flowers and evergreens, while the front of the drapery thrown over it was decorated with crosses of evergreen and immortelles.

Rev. Dr. Pendleton, the long intimate personal friend of General Lee, his chief of artillery during the war, and his pastor the past five years, read the beautiful services of the Episcopal Church. No sermon was preached, and

nothing said besides the simple service, in accordance with the known wishes of General Lee.

After the funeral services were concluded in the chapel, the body was removed to the vault prepared for its reception, and concluding services read by the chaplain from the bank on the southern side of the chapel, in front of the vault.

The pall-bearers were: Judge F. T. Anderson, David E. Moore, Sen., Trustees of the College; Commodore M. F. Maury, Captain J. M. Brooks, Professor W. Preston Johnson, Professor J. Randolph Tucker, Professors of Washington College; William L. Prather, Edward P. Clark, students of Washington College; Captain J. C. Bonde, Captain J. P. Moore, soldiers of the Confederate States Army; William G. White and Joseph G. Steele, citizens of Lexington.

There was sung, in the chapel, the 124th hymn of the Episcopal collection; and after the coffin was lowered into the vault, the congregation sang with fine effect the grand old hymn,

"How firm a foundation, ye saints of the Lord." *

The vault is constructed of brick, lined with cement. The top just reaches the floor of the library, and will be double-capped with white marble, on which is the simple inscription:

"Robert Edward Lee.

"Born January 19th, 1807. Died October 12th, 1870."

* This was General Lee's favorite hymn.

III.

Memorial Meetings. — Tributes of Respect.

In the numerous meetings held throughout the country, to testify their sense of this national bereavement, many eloquent addresses were made by the friends and fellow-soldiers of the Southern hero. A number of these are given in the following pages.

Baltimore, Maryland, *October 15th.**

MEETING AT MASONIC TEMPLE. — PRELIMINARY REMARKS BY GENERAL TRIMBLE.

"Fellow-Soldiers: — We are assembled together to express our sense of the grievous loss which we have sustained in the death of a beloved commander — a man who possessed the enviable power of inspiring, beyond all comparison, more of the respect, the admiration, and the love of mankind for his virtue, his genius, and for his kindly, generous nature, than any distinguished character who has ever inscribed his name on the pages of history. We have deemed it our appropriate privilege to assemble together the companions in arms of General Lee. We claim the right to feel a peculiar sorrow for the loss of a beloved commander and friend, and no one, we hope, would deny us the mournful consolation of shedding a soldier's tear over a soldier's grave. We accord to all who love him the same sacred privilege. We could not hinder them, if we would; for who shall forbid the hearts of a world from loving and mourning for General Robert E. Lee? Who shall restrain the eyes that weep and the tears which fall to swell the ocean of a nation's sorrow?

The perfections of his character must compel even the

*October 15th, as the day of the funeral, was generally observed as a day of mourning throughout the South.

respect of his enemies (if, indeed, he really had any), and touch their hearts with sadness when the tomb closes over him. They and all will soon feel that his pure name and fame confer honor on our whole country, and on the world; for virtues which tower to a sublime height reflect renown on all mankind. They belong to no section nor State. They are the common heritage and the common pride of humanity. As there are many here who did not serve in a military capacity, but who sympathize with us in the loss we deplore, we cordially invite them to participate in the expression of feeling prompted by love and veneration for his name."

COLONEL MARSHALL [OF GENERAL LEE'S STAFF].

"In presenting the Resolutions of the Committee, I cannot refrain from expressing the feelings inspired by the memories that crowd upon my mind, when I reflect that these resolutions are intended to express what General Lee's soldiers feel towards General Lee. The Committee are fully aware of their inability to do justice to the sentiments that inspire the hearts of those for whom they speak. How can we portray in words the gratitude, the pride, the veneration, the anguish that now fill the hearts of those who shared his victories and his reverses, his triumphs and his defeats? How can we tell the world what we can only feel ourselves? How can we give expression to the crowding memories called forth by the sad event we are met to deplore?

"We recall him as he appeared in the hour of victory — grand, imposing, awe-inspiring, yet self-forgetful and humble. We recall the great scene of his triumph when we hailed him victor on many a bloody field, and when, above the pæans of victory, we listened with reverence to

his voice as he ascribed 'all glory to the Lord of hosts, from whom all glories are.' We remember that grand magnanimity that never stooped to pluck those meaner things that grow nearest the earth upon the tree of victory, but which, with eyes turned to the stars, and hands raised towards heaven, gathered the golden fruits of mercy, pity, and holy charity, that ripen on its topmost boughs, beneath the approving smile of the great God of battles.

"We remember the sublime self-abnegation of Chancellorsville, when, in the midst of his victorious legions, who, with the light of battle yet on their faces, hailed him conqueror, he thought only of his great lieutenant, lying wounded on the field, and transferred to him all the honor of that illustrious day. I will be pardoned, I am sure, for referring to an incident which affords to my mind a most striking illustration of one of the grandest features of his character.

"On the morning of May 3, 1863, as many of you will remember, the final assault was made upon the Federal lines at Chancellorsville. General Lee accompanied the troops in person, and as they emerged from the fierce combat they had waged in 'the depths of that tangled wilderness,' driving the superior forces of the enemy before them across the open ground, he rode into their midst. The scene is one that can never be effaced from the minds of those who witnessed it. The troops were pressing forward with all the ardor and enthusiasm of combat. The white smoke of musketry fringed the front of the line of battle, while the artillery on the hills in the rear of the infantry shook the earth with its thunder, and filled the air with the wild shrieks of the shells that plunged into the masses of the retreating foe. To add greater horror and sublimity to the scene, the Chancel-

lorsville House and the woods surrounding it were wrapped in flames. In the midst of this awful scene, General Lee, mounted upon that horse which we all remember so well, rode to the front of his advancing battalions. His presence was the signal for one of those uncontrollable outbursts of enthusiasm which none can appreciate who have not witnessed them.

"The fierce soldiers, with their faces blackened with the smoke of battle, the wounded crawling with feeble limbs from the fury of the devouring flames, all seemed possessed with a common impulse. One long, unbroken cheer, in which the feeble cry of those who lay helpless on the earth blended with the strong voices of those who still fought, rose high above the roar of battle, and hailed the presence of the victorious chief. He sat in the full realization of all that soldiers dream of — triumph; and as I looked upon him in the complete fruition of the success which his genius, courage, and confidence in his army had won, I thought that it must have been from such a scene that men in ancient days rose to the dignity of the gods.

"His first care was for the wounded of both armies, and he was among the foremost at the burning mansion where some of them lay. But at that moment, when the transports of his victorious troops were drowning the roar of battle with acclamations, a note was brought to him from General Jackson. It was brought to General Lee as he sat on his horse, near the Chancellorsville House, and, unable to open it with his gauntleted hands, he passed it to me with directions to read it to him. The note made no mention of the wound that General Jackson had received, but congratulated General Lee upon the great victory.

"I shall never forget the look of pain and anguish that passed over his face as he listened. With a voice broken

with emotion, he bade me say to General Jackson that the victory was his, and that the congratulations were due to him. I know not how others may regard this incident, but for myself, as I gave expression to the thoughts of his exalted mind, I forgot the genius that won the day in my reverence for the generosity that refused its glory.

"There is one other incident to which I beg permission to refer, that I may perfect the picture. On the 3d day of July, 1863, the last assault of the Confederate troops upon the heights of Gettysburg failed, and again General Lee was among the baffled and shattered battalions as they sullenly retired from their brave attempt. The history of that battle is yet to be written, and the responsibility for the result is yet to be fixed.

"But there, with the painful consciousness that his plans had been frustrated by others, and that defeat and humiliation had overtaken his army, in the presence of his troops he openly assumed the entire responsibility of the campaign and of the last battle. One word from him would have relieved him of the responsibility, but that word he refused to utter until it could be spoken without fear of doing the least injustice. Thus, my fellow-soldiers, I have presented to you our great commander in the supreme moments of triumph and of defeat. I cannot more strongly illustrate his character. Has it been surpassed in history? Is there another instance of such self-abnegation among men? The man rose high above victory in the one instance, and, harder still, the man rose superior to disaster in the other. It was such incidents as these that gave General Lee the absolute and undoubting confidence and affection of his soldiers.

"Need I speak of the many exhibitions of that confidence? You all remember them, my comrades. Have you not seen a wavering line restored by the magic of his

presence? Have you not seen the few forget that they were fighting against the many because he was among the few? But I pass from the contemplation of his greatness in war to look to his example under the oppressive circumstances of final failure — to look to that example which it is most useful for us now to refer for our guidance and instruction. When the attempt to establish the Southern Confederacy had failed, and the event of the war seemed to have established the indivisibility of the Federal Union, General Lee gave his adhesion to the new order of affairs.

"His was no hollow truce; but with that pure faith and honor that marked every act of his illustrious career, he immediately devoted himself to the restoration of peace, harmony, and concord. He entered zealously into the subject of education, believing, as he often declared, that popular education is the only sure foundation of free government. He gave his earnest support to all plans of internal improvement designed to bind more firmly together the social and commercial interests of the country; and among the last acts of his life was the effort to secure the construction of a line of railway communication of incalculable importance as a connecting link between the North and the South. He devoted all his great energies to the advancement of the welfare of his countrymen, while shrinking from public notice, and sought to lay deep and strong the foundations of the new fabric of government which it was supposed would rise from the ruins of the old. But I need not repeat to you, my comrades, the history of his life since the war. You have watched it to its close, and you know how faithfully and truly he performed every duty of his position.

"Let us take to heart the lesson of his bright example. Disregarding all that malice may impute to us, with an

eye single to the faithful performance of our duties as American citizens, and with the honest and sincere resolution to support, with heart and hand, the honor, the safety, and the true liberties of our country, let us invoke our fellow-citizens to forget the animosities of the past by the side of this honored grave, and joining hands around this royal corpse, friends now, enemies no more, proclaim perpetual truce to battle."

THE RESOLUTIONS.

"Colonel Marshall then reported the following resolutions:

"The officers, soldiers, and sailors of the Southern Confederacy residing in Maryland, who served under General Robert E. Lee, desiring to record their grief for his death, their admiration for his exalted virtues, and their affectionate veneration for his illustrious memory:

"*Resolve*, 1. That, leaving with pride the name and fame of our illustrious commander to the judgment of history, we, who followed him through the trials, dangers, and hardships of a sanguinary and protracted war; who have felt the inspiration of his genius and valor in the time of trial; who have witnessed his magnanimity and moderation in the hour of victory, and his firmness and fortitude in defeat,—claim the privilege of laying the tribute of our heartfelt sorrow upon his honored grave.

"2. That the confidence and admiration which his eminent achievements deserved and received, were strengthened by the noble example of his constancy in adversity, and that we honored and revered him in his retirement, as we trusted and followed him on the field of battle.

"3. That, as a token of our respect and sorrow, we will wear the customary badge of mourning for thirty days.

"4. That a copy of these resolutions and of the proceedings of this meeting be transmitted to the family of our lamented chief."

REMARKS OF HON. JOHN A. CAMPBELL.

"Hon. John A. Campbell rose, and said: I second the adoption of the Resolutions. They refer to two distinct times in the life of General Lee, which are full of interest to every member of this country. The first is that period of his life which preceded the termination of the war, and the second that which followed and terminated with his death. It is forty-four years since my acquaintance with General Lee commenced in the relation of instructor and pupil; for nearly twelve months I met him day by day, and received lessons from him. There are many who will say that the same qualities which distinguished him in his early life, remained with him to the close. He was interested in all, compassionate, assisting the weak, and instructing those that were strong. At the Military Academy he took a distinguished part, and there was but one who was his peer. He was detailed at the end of the year to instruct a class, which he did; and at the same time maintained himself in his own class. In each of the four classes he had the highest grade, and after he graduated, he was assigned to the corps of engineers. A long peace followed. When the war with Mexico began, and General Scott was placed in command, his eyes at once turned to General Lee. I once asked General Scott why he attempted to march to the city of Mexico with the material he had. He replied that he was obliged to do so, as the yellow fever was in Vera Cruz. He said he took two young men into a room, and made the plan of that campaign, and one of those men was General Lee.

All the reports of General Scott were full of encomiums of General Lee. After his return, he was promoted. I have seen something in the papers in relation to the capture of John Brown. I was in the Cabinet meeting when a message was sent to General Lee to know what had been done; and he replied, giving the facts as they occurred. He had been sent to Harper's Ferry in command of a company of marines, and only did his duty. That Cabinet meeting decided that the United States should not interfere, but it should be left to Virginia. There was nothing but kindness extended to those prisoners after they were captured.

"In 1861, when General Lee resigned his commission in the United States army, some people spoke of treason. What could General Lee have done other than what he did? What other course was open to him but the one he took? We all know that the command of the United States army was offered him before he resigned. Was it wealth? Was any man so blind as not to see that the powerful Republic to be found north of the Potomac could confer greater wealth than the States south? And his own estates were within range of the guns of the Federal army. He was early offered the command of the United States army, and it was late when he took command of the armies of the South. But he went South, and left wealth and promotion behind him. Why did he go? It was because he was a Virginian. And if he had resigned the command of armies as large as those Prussia now has in the field, and had taken nothing but a small body of futile Virginia troops, he would have been justified. And why do I say so? What was that State of Virginia, and how did that State of Virginia come into the Union? The name of Lee is associated

with everything that is high and honorable in that State. The Constitution emanated from Virginia beyond all other States, and Madison is called to this hour the father of the Constitution. That Constitution was debated in Virginia by the greatest men of the country. Washington was there, and Patrick Henry, Jefferson, and all the Lees. And what did they put to the bottom of it? That if the United States should ever abuse the powers granted, it should be in the power of Virginia to withdraw. Were it possible to connect the word traitor with the name of Robert E. Lee, I would say that, had he raised his sword against Virginia, it would have savored very much of treason. He never favored the secession of the Southern States. He probably, with Jackson and others, hesitated long before he yielded; but when the necessity came, he gave up every feeling, and did everything which duty seemed to demand. General Lee was nearly a year without an important command, and it was whispered that he was a failure. He took the command late in 1862. I do not propose to follow him through his battles, and their history has not been written. His army was drawn together from all quarters, and badly organized. His officers were without experience, and selected by a popular vote. Without time for sufficient organization or preparation, the Seven Days' battle was fought. And while McClellan was at Harrison's Landing, two hundred thousand strong, Lee was obliged to go to the Potomac after Pope, leaving hardly a battalion between McClellan and Richmond. At the battle of Gettysburg no troops were left before Richmond, and it would have been as easy for the Federal army to have gone to Richmond as to go anywhere else.

"At Chancellorsville, or Fredericksburg, he had but

one and one-half day's rations; and if his march was impeded by a swollen torrent, he had to wait until it went down before he could cross. Upon one occasion, he sent word to the War Office at Richmond, that, if he did not get one thousand barrels of flour, he would have to disband his army. They then had had no meat for three days. The people of Richmond raised the flour that time and sent it to the army; but that could not be repeated. In March, 1864, General Lee said they were in no condition to carry on the war, and it was time to negotiate. He wrote, that, unless his circumstances were improved, he could not hold the lines before Richmond, nor move away from it. That letter was captured among the archives after the fall of Richmond; and General Weitzel said, after reading it, that he was proud of him. With General Lee, there was nothing unexpected, nothing unforeseen. He had given counsel to meet every exigency, and when that failed, he still performed his duty; and, until driven to the last extremity, never surrendered his sword. And what has he been since the war? He came to Richmond, and I saw him. Richmond was in ruins; he was held a prisoner, and for some time he was not permitted to leave the city. Then he was carried to Congress before committees, and to the courts, as a witness in the famous treason cases. As soon as he could, he went to the school. He was not seen seeking support, nor adulation; but he sought only retirement, that he might perform his duty, and make an honorable living. He had the offer of houses and lands; but to all he said no. All eyes were concentrated upon him. 'What does he do? what does he say?' were heard in every direction. But he was constant in the performance of his duty; every man looking to him in hope and confidence. He devoted himself to

the building up of the college, the establishment of religious institutions, and to the strengthening and fortifying of the characters of those under his control. What was Virginia once? What has Virginia been in the past five years? Is there one of the name of Lee, or one of his compeers whose heart thrilled at the name? It has been a leaden despotism. But without ostentation, and without complaint, he has been inspiring the people to maintain themselves under the calamities which surround them. The burden was too great, the pressure too strong, and the great leader was obliged to strike his tents. He has left his example to others, and gone to claim that crown which is always given to great actions." *

COLONEL HENRY E. PEYTON'S REMARKS.

"Mr. Chairman: — While within the broad limits of civilization men everywhere are turning aside from the every-day pursuits of life to pay voluntary tribute to departed greatness, it is peculiarly fitting that those who bore the relation to the lamented dead which exists between a loved commander and devoted troops, should in a simple yet unmistakable form give expression to the feelings which oppress their hearts. The resolutions which have been read are not only expressive of the sentiments of those assembled, but are the echoes of that veneration and grief which have impressed an entire people, and are finding utterance on every hand in language of sincere mourning and unaffected eulogy.

"The world is honoring itself in thus honoring the memory of one who has won more of its admiration than any great historic name since Washington. But while it

* The remarks of Judge Campbell were impromptu, and were very imperfectly reported by the press.

follows in the funeral procession, as admirers of the illustrious warrior, we have the proud privilege to stand around his bier as friends and mourners — as brothers in arms, nay, almost as the children of his heart.

"Knowing all the splendid elements of his character as we did,—the fortitude in adversity; the courage in disaster; the silence under imputation; the sense of justice, which knew neither friendship nor kindred; the tenderness which was like woman's; the grand poise of feeling, which suffered no weak elation in the hour of victory, — we turn, like children appalled, from the tomb which is closing upon our hero forever; we feel as men who have lost the light of a great example, and been deprived of a guide and counsellor, upon whom we have learned to lean with a confiding and enduring trust.

"Mr. Chairman, it would not be appropriate for me to indulge in the language of extended eulogy. A character which needs philosophic analysis, to place the different elements that constitute greatness and strength and excellence in their proper and harmonious relations, affords too prolific a theme for an occasion like this, or abilities like mine. This is more appropriately the work of the critic and the historian. We come to mourn, not to praise. We are here to weep, not to review. Our utterances are the leaping words that come unbidden from breaking hearts, not the polished periods that flow from the lips of orators. We need not, sir, and have not invoked, the accessories of eloquence; the occasion itself is eloquent; the influences and the surroundings of the hour are an inspiration; and may the day never come when the silver tongue of the orator will be necessary to bring mourners to the grave of Robert E. Lee.

"Well may we leave to history, whilst mingling our tears with the grief of our people, the duty of portraying

to future generations the man who has in our day strengthened our faith in our own race, by the lofty height to which his own great nature so easily bore him.

"At another and more suitable time, we may trench upon the province of the historian, which speaks of battles, and victories, and disasters; of the march, the bivouac, and the camp; of the personal and thrilling incidents that come crowding in upon the mind in this great military presence. Tempting as are these martial themes, and vivid as they might be wrought, let us follow the example of our great chief, and turn from these to peaceful thoughts. Let us, to-night, leave Lee the soldier, and contemplate Lee the citizen. Let us draw lessons from a history the noblest, the grandest, the most inspiring the world has ever known. Let us study that wonderful adaptation of a purely military character to the calm, imperious duties of exacting peace. Let us recall that peerless fortitude and more than royal dignity which gave to the dark hour of final surrender more of triumph than of defeat. Let us put to heart and impress on those who are to come after us that spirit of self-abnegation which, in the midst of poverty, refused every benefaction, and with a pathos and power above all earthly eloquence, spoke, from the depths of his great soul, to a friend: 'My countrymen offer me everything but work.'

"Fellow-soldiers, there is no better incident in the life of this great man, fraught as it was with lessons for good, than the simple fact that, whilst he declined land and houses and stocks and bonds, and taxed the ingenuity of friendship to invent new channels of approach, even with the simplest offerings of love, yet accepted at a trifling salary the first position offered him by which he could make his living by his own hands. These are words, and this is an ex-

ample, that should be recorded in letters of gold, to inspire the youth not only of this, but succeeding generations. They elevate their author to an immeasurable height of moral grandeur, until, like the mountain peaks of his own well-loved State, he seems to rise to an altitude of virtue which leaves commoner spirits in the clouds beneath. Who knows better than the men I address to-night, the Macaria-like sacrifice assumed by our beloved commander, when he formed the high purpose to descend to the level of his altered condition? It was hard for the soldier to be transformed at once into the citizen. It was hard for the great captain of the age, who had ridden at the head of victorious armies — a leader at the mention of whose name the world had bowed in awe — to leap from the saddle of his ever-faithful gray, (scarcely less famous or less dear than his noble rider to men who followed his fortunes and fought under his banners,) into the dreary and uncongenial duties of the pedagogue's closet. Yet it was done, and done as all things else — done well. How well? Go ask the five hundred students that sat under his teachings, and gathered wisdom in that temple of learning, which has grown by his handiwork from small beginnings to its present complete proportions and increasing power. Washington College is a living monument of the tireless energy and ceaseless toil of the mind — thought to be trained only for the business of war. It was not an easy thing for men whose hands were used to the grasp of the musket, to suddenly substitute the sickle or the scythe, nor to find in the harvest-field the excitement of the battle-field. It was not a pleasant thing for those who were accustomed to command to be themselves commanded, and feel the tyranny which is so often inflicted by the powerful

upon the powerless. But these things, and worse, have been borne in silence by the men of the Lost Cause, who survived the terrors of the conflict. The temptation to repine, if not to rebel, was never greater since men first went to war or failed in battle. But in the midst of their disheartenings, which bordered on despair, the voice of the great Captain came to his disbanded battalions, and commanded them to suffer and be strong; to learn to labor and to wait; to seek, in the pursuits of civil life, relief from the excitements of war; and, in the fields of industry, to build again the broken shrines of their household gods. None know better than we the power of these inspiring counsels. Nor how we turned to that mountain retreat at Lexington, and sought amid the porticos of an ancient college the word of admonition from those lips which had so often spoken the stern command of battle.

"But, Mr. Chairman, that voice is hushed in death. Nothing remains to us but the echoes of its warnings and the wisdom of its teachings. Let us cherish them as a legacy of priceless value. Let us keep before our minds, and the minds of our children, the lessons of that great life, for, like the fabled Pharos of the East, it will be a light and a guide forever. Let us feel that whilst the tomb has received all that is mortal of this Christian soldier, that his spirit still lives, and that no charnel-house can confine in its gloomy chambers the glory of a name like his."

REV. THOMAS U. DUDLEY'S REMARKS.

MR. DUDLEY said: — "I count myself happy that, though almost a stranger in this home of my adoption, I am permitted to speak as a Confederate soldier to Confederate soldiers, gathered together upon this sad occasion.

I count myself happy that, by the courtesy of the Committee of Arrangements, I am permitted to bring my little flower to add to the regal wreath of immortelles gathered to place on the grave of our father-chieftain who is gone.

"Yes, they have buried him to-day, brother-soldiers, in his mountain home, 'neath the church he builded. Perhaps some day a nation will demand that his dust shall be buried near her capital. Perhaps some day the Richmond he defended will guard the precious remains. Let him be buried there — not on the hill with the Presidents,* but bury him where "the boys" lie, that when the grand reveille sounds, they may behold their chieftain in their midst. For that grand reveille *will* sound, and it is of this that I would speak. I come not to speak of him as patriot, for you have been told by one who knew and loved him long, who has sat at his feet as his pupil, the capacity of his great heart to take in its embrace *all* the land he served. I will not speak of him as soldier, for you have been just told of the glory which he brought to that flag which poor, puny malice would not suffer to be lowered to half-mast in honor of him dead.† I will not speak of him as soldier to men who have seen, under his prescient guidance, a handful chase a thousand; who have seen the marvellous circle of retreat, ever keeping the shield of his army between the foe and the city he defended. I come to speak of him, not as patriot, but as

* Upon a high hill in Hollywood Cemetery, overlooking the falls of the James River, are the graves of two Presidents of the United States, Tyler and Monroe.

† An allusion to the action of a United States official in Savannah, Ga., who refused to allow the flag of the Custom-House to remain at half-mast.

Christian patriot; not as soldier, but as Christian soldier. You are building to-night, in your breasts, a monument to the dead hero; patriot and soldier are graven there. I come to write *Christian* above them. Was he a Christian? I will relate an incident as illustrative: It was in the beginning of that long cold winter of 1862, when the battle round Richmond had been fought, and Manassas and Sharpsburg, that the army, weary of the hard campaign, was camped on those bleak hills about Winchester. An order came for a grand review — one of those sad displays we can so well remember — so sad, and yet necessary to the discipline and efficiency of the army. There were no bright trappings, nor glitter of gold; the only glitter was the fire of determination in brave men's eyes. But all would appear in their best. There was a chaplain who, in obedience, as he believed, to this order, put on the pure white robe of his office and went to the review. Doubtless he heard the derisive laugh, the sneering remarks of those about him; but when the command he marched with passed the great chief, the officers tell us that, lifting his hat, he said: 'I salute the Church of God.' The eye that was busy inspecting the accoutrements, the arms, the troops in which he trusted to do the work he had to do, could see the chaplain's robe. The commander, who sat in the immovable majesty we can remember so well, bent his uncovered head to salute the Church of the God he served.

"Again. It was when the boom of the occasional gun could be heard in Richmond. Seven Pines had been fought and won. The Seven Days' fight had not yet begun. In a chamber in the beleaguered city an aged minister of God lay dying. Could our eyes have penetrated the recesses of that chamber in the close of one afternoon,

we should have seen the hero whom we mourn, booted and spurred, fresh from his victorious legions, kneeling by the bedside of the dying bishop to receive his blessing, that he might certify him by this sign of the favor and goodness of the God he served. We should have heard the words of blessing: 'Robert, Robert,' — for he had held him in his arms in infancy, — 'stand up for our country, and God will bless you.' Was he Christian? Thus, soldiers, he saluted, with lifted hand and bended knee, and humble heart, the Church of God. Remember it: not only patriot, soldier, but *Christian*. Therefore we are comforted, because the light that streams from one open tomb, makes bright all the darkness of the place whither he is gone. Because he was Christian here, we may believe, on the assurance of the Word of God, that the Church of God has risen up to salute him in the paradise where he is entered. The sad expression we can remember so well is gone from his face now, for the burden of the Lost Cause no more oppresses his heart; because he has been a soldier in the cause that can never be lost. It no more grieves him that the conquered banner is folded and weary, for he has fought bravely and well under the banner that floats triumphant from the battlements of heaven, and shall float forever.

"There *is* left to us, brother soldiers, more than the mournful privilege to tell over to our hearts, and to our children, the battles, sieges, victories, and defeats, he won and suffered. There is left to us the grand example of God's faithful servant, that we may follow. He being dead, yet speaketh, bidding you, his soldiers, to enlist under the Christian banner. This is his command. You did never fail to follow where he led; you did never flinch or falter to do his bidding. This is the command he

speaks: Enlist and battle for God and Christ, so that, when our end shall come, we too, like Him, may wrap the drapery of our couch about us, and lay us down — not to dreams, but to the eternal realities which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, nor hath entered into the heart of man to conceive, but which God hath prepared for them that love Him — that we, too, may hear, as we trust he has heard, the greeting:

"'Soldier of Christ, well done!
Rest from thy loved employ:
Thy battle's o'er, thy victory won,—
Enter thy Master's joy.'"

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, *October 15th.*

ADDRESS OF GENERAL BRECKINRIDGE.

"MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: — In the humble part which it falls to me to take in these interesting ceremonies, if for any cause it has been supposed that I am to deliver a lengthy address, I am not responsible for the origination of that supposition. I came here to-night simply to mingle my grief with yours at the loss of one of our most distinguished citizens, and, indeed, I feel more like silence than like words. I am awe-stricken in the presence of this vast assemblage, and my mind goes back to the past. It is pre-occupied by memories coming in prominent review of the frequent and ever varying vicissitudes which have characterized the last ten years. I find myself in the presence of a vast assemblage of the people of this great and growing city, who meet together without distinction of party, and presided over by your chief officer, for the purpose of expressing respect to the memory of the man who was the leader of

the Confederate armies in the late war between the States. It is in itself the omen of re-union. I am not surprised at the spectacle presented here. Throughout the entire South one universal cry of grief has broken forth at the death of General Lee, and in a very large portion of the North manly and noble tributes have been paid to his memory.

"My words shall be brief, but plain. Why is it that at the South we see this universal, spontaneous demonstration? First, because most of the people mourn the loss of a leader and a friend, but beyond that I must say they seem to enter an unconscious protest against the ascription either to him or them of treason or personal dishonor. It may be an unconscious protest against the employment, by a portion of the public press, of those epithets which have ceased to be used in social intercourse. It is an invitation, on their part, to the people of the North and South, East and West, if there be any remaining rancor in their bosoms, to bury it in the grave forever. I will not recall the past. I will not enter upon any considerations of the cause of that great struggle. This demonstration we see around us gives the plainest evidence that there is no disposition to indulge in useless repinings at the results of that great struggle. It is for the pen of the historian to declare the cause, progress, and probable consequences of it. In regard to those who followed General Lee, who gloried in his successes and shared his misfortunes, I have but this to say: the world watched the contest in which they were engaged, and yet gives testimony to their gallantry. The magnanimity with which they accepted the results of their defeat, the obedience they have yielded to the laws of the Federal Government, give an exhibition so rare that they are ennobled by their calm and dignified submission.

For the rest, their escutcheon is unstained. The conquerors themselves, for their own glory, must confess that they were brave. Neither, my friends, do I come here to-night to speak of the military career of General Lee. I need not speak of it this evening. I believe that this is universally recognized, not only in the United States, but in Europe; it has made the circuit of the world. I come but to utter my tribute to him as a man and as a citizen. As a man, he will be remembered in history as the man of the epoch. How little need I to speak of his character, after listening to the thrilling delineation of it which we had this morning? We all know that he was great, noble, and self-poised. He was just and moderate, but was, perhaps, misunderstood by those who were not personally acquainted with him. He was supposed to be just, but cold. Far from it. He had a warm, affectionate heart. During the last year of that unfortunate struggle, it was my good fortune to spend a great deal of time with him. I was almost constantly by his side, and it was during the two months immediately preceding the fall of Richmond that I came to know and fully understand the true nobility of his character. In all those long vigils he was considerate and kind, gentle, firm, and self-poised. I can give no better idea of the impression it made upon me than to say it inspired me with an ardent love of the man and a profound veneration of his character. It was so massive and noble, so grand in its proportions, that all men must admire its heroism and gallantry, yet so gentle and tender that a woman might adopt and claim it as her own. . . .

"But he failed. The result is in the future. It may be for better or for worse. We hope for the better. But this is not the test of his greatness and goodness. Success

often gilds the shallow man, but it is disaster alone that reveals the qualities of true greatness. Was his life a failure? Is only that man successful who erects a material monument of greatness by the enforcement of his ideas? Is not that man successful also, who, by his valor, moderation, and courage, with all their associate virtues, presents to the world such a specimen of true manhood as his children and children's children will be proud to imitate? In this sense he did not fail.

"Pardon me for having detained you so long. I know there are here and there those who will reach out and attempt to pluck from his name the glory which surrounds it, and strike with malignant fury at the honors awarded to him; yet history will declare that the remains which repose in the vault, beneath the little chapel in the lovely Virginia valley, are not only those of a valorous soldier, but those of a great and good American."

GENERAL WILLIAM PRESTON.

"Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: — I feel that it would be very difficult for me to add any eulogy to those which are contained in the resolutions of the Committee, or a more merited tribute of praise than those which have already fallen from the lips of the gentlemen who have preceded me. Yet, on an occasion like this, I am willing to come forward and add a word to testify my appreciation of the great virtues and admirable character of one that commands, not only our admiration, but that of the entire country; not alone of the entire country, but his character has excited more admiration in Europe than among ourselves.

"In coming ages, his name will be marked with lustre,

and will be one of the richest treasures of the future. I speak of one just gone down to death; ripe in all the noble attributes of manhood, and illustrious by deeds the most remarkable in character that have occurred in the history of America since its discovery. It is now some two-and-twenty years since I first made the acquaintance of General Lee. He was then in the prime of manhood, in Mexico, and I first saw him as the chief engineer of General Scott in the Valley of Mexico. I see around me two old comrades who then saw General Lee. He was a man of remarkable personal beauty and great grace of body. He had a finished form, delicate hands; was graceful in person, while here and there a gray hair streaked with silver the dark locks with which nature had clothed his noble brow. There were discerning minds that appreciated his genius, and saw in him the coming Captain of America. His commander and his comrades appreciated his ability. To a club which was then organized he belonged, together with General McClellan, General Albert Sydney Johnston, General Beauregard, and a host of others. They recognized in Lee a master-spirit.

"He was never violent; he never wrangled. He was averse to quarrelling, and not a single difficulty marked his career; but all acknowledged his justness and wonderful evenness of mind. Rare intelligence, combined with these qualities, served to make him a fit representative of his great prototype, General Washington. He had been accomplished by every finish that a military education could bestow. I remember when General Lee was appointed lieutenant-colonel at the same time that Sydney Johnston was appointed colonel, and General Scott thought that Lee should have been colonel. I was talking with

General Scott on the subject long before the late struggle between the North and the South took place; and he then said that Lee was the greatest living soldier in America. He did not object to the other commission; but he thought Lee should have been first promoted. Finally he said to me, with emphasis, which you will pardon me for relating, 'I tell you, that, if I were on my death-bed to-morrow, and the President of the United States should tell me that a great battle was to be fought for the liberty or slavery of the country, and asked my judgment as to the ability of a commander, I would say, with my dying breath, let it be Robert E. Lee!' Ah! great soldier that he was! princely general that he was! he has fulfilled his mission, and borne it so that no invidious tongue can level the shafts of calumny at the great character which he has left behind him.

"But, ladies and gentlemen, it was not in this that the matchless attributes of his character were found. You have assembled here, not so much to do honor to General Lee, but to testify your appreciation of the worth of the principles governing his character; and if the minds of this assemblage were explored, you would find, there was a gentleness and a grace in his character which had won your love, and brought forth testimonials of universal admiration. Take but a single instance. At the battle of Gettysburg, after the attack on the cemetery, where his troops were repulsed and beaten, the men threw up their muskets, and said, 'General, we have failed, and it is our fault!'—'No, my men,' said he, knowing the style of fighting of General Stonewall Jackson, 'you have done well; 't is my fault; I am to blame, and no one but me.' What man is there that would not have gone to renewed death for such a leader? So, when we examine his whole

character, it is in his private life that you find his true greatness — the Christian simplicity of his character, and his great veneration for truth and nobility, the grand elements of his greatness. What man could have laid down his sword at the feet of a victorious general with greater dignity than did he at Appomattox Court-House? He laid down his sword with grace and dignity, and secured for his soldiers the best terms that fortune would permit. In that he shows marked greatness seldom shown by great captains.

"After the battle of Sedan, the wild cries of the citizens of Paris went out for the blood of the emperor; but at Appomattox, veneration and love only met the eyes of the troops who looked upon their commander. I will not trespass upon your time much further. When I last saw him, the raven hair had turned white. In a small village church his reverent head was bowed in prayer. The humblest step was that of Robert E. Lee, as he entered the portals of the temple erected to God. In broken responses, he answered to the services of the church. Noble, sincere, and humble in his religion, he showed forth his true character in laying aside his sword to educate the youth of his country. Never did he appear more noble than at that time. He is now gone, and rests in peace, and has crossed that mysterious stream that Stonewall Jackson saw with inspired eyes when he asked that he might be permitted to take his troops across the river and forever rest beneath the shadows of the trees."

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA.

HON. THOMAS J. SEMMES.

"Robert E. Lee is dead. The Potomac, overlooked by the home of the hero, once dividing contending peoples

but now no longer a boundary, conveys to the ocean a nation's tears. South of the Potomac is mourning; profound grief pervades every heart, lamentation is heard from every hearth, for Lee sleeps among the slain whose memory is so dear to us. In the language of Moina:

> "'They were slain for us,
> And their blood flowed out in a rain for us,
> Red, rich, and pure, on the plain for us;
> And years may go,
> But our tears shall flow
> O'er the dead who have died in vain for us.'

"North of the Potomac not only sympathizes with its widowed sister, but, with respectful homage, the brave and generous, clustering around the corpse of the great Virginian, with one accord, exclaim:

> "'This earth, that bears thee dead,
> Bears not alive so stout a gentleman.'

"Sympathetic nations, to whom our lamentations have been transmitted on the wings of lightning, will, with pious jealousy, envy our grief, because Robert E. Lee was an American. Seven cities claimed the honor of having given birth to the great Pagan poet; but all Christian nations, while revering America as the mother of Robert E. Lee, will claim for the nineteenth century the honor of his birth. There was but one Lee, the great Christian captain, and his fame justly belongs to Christendom. The nineteenth century has attacked everything — it has attacked God, the soul, reason, morals, society, the distinction between good and evil, — but Christianity is vindicated by the virtues of Lee. He is the most brilliant and cogent argument in favor of a system illustrated by such a

man ; he is the type of the reign of law in the moral order —that reign of law which the philosophic Duke of Argyle has so recently and so ably discussed, as pervading the natural as well as the supernatural world. One of the chief characteristics of the Christian is duty. Throughout a checkered life, the conscientious performance of duty seems to have been the mainspring of the actions of General Lee. In his relations of father, son, husband, soldier, citizen, duty shines conspicuous in all his acts. His agency as he advanced to more elevated stations, attracts more attention and surrounds him with a brighter halo of glory ; but he is unchanged — from first to last it is Robert E. Lee.

"The most momentous act of his life was the selection of sides at the commencement of the political troubles which immediately preceded the late conflict. High in military rank, caressed by General Scott, courted by those possessed of influence and authority, no politician, happy in his domestic relations, and in the enjoyment of competent fortune, consisting in the main of property situated on the borders of Virginia,— nevertheless, impelled by a sense of duty, as he himself testified before a Congressional committee since the war, General Lee determined to risk all and unite his fortunes with those of his native State, whose ordinances, as one of her citizens, he considered himself bound to obey.

"Having joined the Confederate army, he complained not that he was assigned to the obscure duty of constructing coast defences for South Carolina and Georgia, nor that he was subsequently relegated to unambitious commands in Western Virginia. The accidental circumstance that General Joseph E. Johnston was wounded at the battle of Seven Pines in May, 1862, placed Lee in command of

the army of Northern Virginia. As commander of that army he achieved a world-wide reputation, without giving occasion, during a period of three years, to any complaint on the part of officers, men, or citizens, or enemies, that he had been guilty of any act, illegal, oppressive, unjust, or inhuman in its character. This is the highest tribute possible to the wisdom and virtue of General Lee; for, as a general rule, law was degraded; officers, whether justly or unjustly, were constantly the subject of complaint and discord, and jealousy prevailed in camp and in the Senate-chamber. There was a fraction of our people represented by an unavailing minority in Congress, who either felt, or professed to feel, a jealousy whose theory was just, but whose application, at such a time, was unsound. They wished to give as little power as possible, because they dreaded a military despotism, and thus desired to send our armies forth with half a shield and broken swords to protect the government from its enemies, lest, if the bucklers were entire and the swords perfect, they might be tempted, in the heyday of victory, to smite their employers. But this want of confidence never manifested itself toward General Lee, whose conduct satisfied the most suspicious that his ambition was not of glory, but of the performance of duty. The army always felt this: the fact, that he sacrificed no masses of human beings in desperate charges that he might gather laurels from the spot enriched from their gore. A year or more before he was appointed commander-in-chief of all the Confederate forces, a bill passed Congress creating that office. It failed to become a law, the President having withheld his approval. Lee made no complaints; his friends solicited no votes to counteract the veto. When a bill for the same purpose was passed at a subsequent period, it was whispered about that he

could not accept the position. To a committee of Virginians who had called on him to ascertain the truth, his reply was, that he felt bound to accept any post the duties of which his country believed him competent to perform. After the battle of Gettysburg he tendered his resignation to President Davis, because he was apprehensive his failure, the responsibility for which he did not pretend to throw on his troops or officers, would produce distrust of his abilities and destroy his usefulness. I am informed, the President, in a beautiful and touching letter, declined to listen to such a proposition. During the whole period of the war he steadily declined all presents, and when, on one occasion, a gentleman sent him several dozen of wine, he turned it over to the hospitals in Richmond, saying the sick and wounded needed it more than he. He was extremely simple and unostentatious in his habits, and shared with his soldiers their privations as well as their dangers. . . . . Duty alone induced this great soldier to submit to such privation, for the slightest intimation given to friends in Richmond would have filled his tent with all the luxuries that blockade-runners and speculators had introduced for the favored few able to purchase.

"This performance of duty was accompanied by no harsh manner or cynical expressions; for the man whose soul is ennobled by true heroism possesses a heart as tender as it is firm. His calmness under the most trying circumstances, and his uniform sweetness of manner, were almost poetical. They manifested 'the most sustained tenderness of soul that ever caressed the chords of a lyre.' In council he was temperate and patient, and his words fell softly and evenly as snow-flakes, like the sentences that fell from the lips of Ulysses.

"Since the termination of the war, his conduct until his death has challenged the admiration of friends and foes. He honestly acquiesced in the inevitable result of the struggle. No discontent, sourness, or complaint has marred his tranquil life at Washington College, where death found him at his post of duty, engaged in fitting the young men of his country, by proper discipline and education, for the performance of the varied duties of life. It is somewhat singular that both Lee and his great lieutenant Jackson should in their last moments have referred to Hill. It is reported that General Lee said: 'Let my tent be struck! Send for Hill!' while the lamented Jackson, in his delirium, cried out: 'Let A. P. Hill prepare for action! March the infantry rapidly to the front! Let us cross over the river, and rest under the shade of the trees.' Both heroes died with commands for military movements on their lips; both the noblest specimens of the Christian soldier produced by any country or any age; both now rest under the shade of the trees of heaven."

REV. DR. PALMER.

"Ladies and Gentlemen: I should have been better pleased had I been permitted to sit a simple listener to the eloquent tribute paid to the immortal chieftain who now reposes in death, by the speaker who has just taken his seat. The nature of my calling so far separates me from public life that I am scarcely competent for the office of alluding to the elements which naturally gather around his career. When informed that other artists would draw the picture of the warrior and the hero, I yielded a cheerful compliance, in the belief that nothing was left but to describe the Christian and the man. You

are entirely familiar with the early life of him over whose grave you this night shed tears; with his grave and sedate boyhood giving promise of the reserved force of mature manhood; with his academic career at West Point, where he received the highest honors of a class brilliant with such names as General Joseph E. Johnston; his seizure of the highest honors of a long apprenticeship in that institution, and his abrupt ascension in the Mexican war from obscurity to fame — all are too firmly stamped in the minds of his admirers to require even an allusion. You are too familiar, to need repetition from my lips, with that great mental and spiritual struggle, when, abandoning the service in which he had gathered so much of honor and reputation, he determined to lay his heart upon the altar of his native State, and swear to live or die in her defence.

"It would be a somewhat singular subject of speculation to discover how it is that national character so often remarkably expresses itself in single individuals who are born as representatives of a class. It is wonderful, for it has been the remark of ages, how the great are born in clusters; sometimes, indeed, one star shining with solitary splendor in the firmament above, but generally gathered in grand constellations, filling the sky with glory. What is that combination of influences, partly physical, partly intellectual, but somewhat more moral, which should make a particular country productive of men great over all others on earth, and to all ages of time? Ancient Greece, with her indented coast, inviting to maritime adventures, from her earliest period was the mother of heroes in war, of poets in song, of sculptors and artists, and stands up after the lapse of centuries the educator of mankind, living in the grandeur of her works and in the

immortal productions of minds which modern civilization, with all its cultivation and refinement and science, never surpassed and scarcely equalled. And why, in the three hundred years of American history, it should be given to the Old Dominion to be the grandmother, not only of States, but of the men by whom States and empires are formed, it might be curious, were it possible for us, to inquire. Unquestionably, Mr. President, there is in this problem the element of race; for he is blind to all the truths of history, to all the revelations of the past, who does not recognize a select race as we recognize a select individual of a race, to make all history. But pretermitting all speculation of that sort, when Virginia unfolds the scroll of her immortal sons — not because illustrious men did not precede him gathering in constellations and clusters, but because the name shines out through those constellations and clusters in all its peerless grandeur — we read first the name of George Washington. And then, Mr. President, after the interval of three-quarters of a century, when your jealous eye has ranged down the record and traced the names that history will never let die, you come to the name — the only name in all the annals of history that can be named in the perilous connection — of Robert E. Lee, the second Washington. Well may old Virginia be proud of her twin sons! born almost a century apart, but shining like those binary stars which open their glory and shed their splendor on the darkness of the world.

"Sir, it is not an artifice of rhetoric which suggests this parallel between two great names in American history; for the suggestion springs spontaneously to every mind, and men scarcely speak of Lee without thinking of a mysterious connection that binds the two together. They

were alike in the presage of their early history — the history of their boyhood. Both earnest, grave, studious; both alike in that peculiar purity which belongs only to a noble boy, and which makes him a brave and noble man, filling the page of a history spotless until closed in death; alike in that commanding presence which seems to be the signature of Heaven, sometimes placed on a great soul when to that soul is given a fit dwelling-place; alike in that noble carriage and commanding dignity, exercising a mesmeric influence and a hidden power which could not be repressed upon all who came within its charm; alike in the remarkable combination and symmetry of their intellectual attributes, all brought up to the same equal level, no faculty of the mind overlapping any other — all so equal, so well developed, the judgment, the reason, the memory, the fancy, that you are almost disposed to deny them greatness, because no single attribute of the mind was projected upon itself, just as objects appear sometimes smaller to the eye from the exact symmetry and beauty of their proportions; alike, above all, in that soul-greatness, that Christian virtue to which so beautiful a tribute has been paid by my friend whose high privilege it was to be a compeer and comrade with the immortal dead, although in another department and sphere; and yet, Mr. President, in their external fortune so strangely dissimilar; — the one the representative and the agent of a stupendous revolution, which it pleased Heaven to bless, and thereby give birth to one of the mightiest nations on the globe; the other the representative and agent of a similar revolution, upon which it pleased high Heaven to throw the darkness of its frown; so that, bearing upon his generous heart the weight of this crushed cause, he was at length overwhelmed; and

the nation, whom he led in battle, gathers with spontaneity of grief over all this land, which is ploughed with graves and reddened with blood, and the tears of a widowed nation in her bereavement are shed over his honored grave. . . . .

"A brilliant English writer has well remarked, with a touch of sound philosophy, that when a nation has rushed upon its fate, the whole force of the national life will sometimes shoot up in one grand character, like the aloe, which blooms at the end of a hundred years, shoots up in one single spike of glory, and then expires. And whereever philosophy, refinement, and culture, have gone upon the globe, it is possible to place the finger upon individual men who are the exemplars of a nation's character, those typical forms under which others less noble, less expanded, have manifested themselves. That gentle, that perfect moderation, that self-command which enabled him to be so self-possessed amid the most trying difficulties of his public career, a refinement almost such as that which marks the character of the purest woman, were blended in him with that massive strength, that mighty endurance, that consistency and power which gave him and the people whom he led such momentum under the disadvantages of the struggle through which he passed. Born from the general level of American society, blood of a noble ancestry flowed in his veins, and he was a type of the race from which he sprang. Such was the grandeur and urbaneness of his manner, the dignity and majesty of his carriage, that his only peer in social life could be found in courts and among those educated amid the refinements of courts and thrones. In that regard it was beautiful and appropriate that he should become, in the later years of his life, the educator of the young. Sir, it

is a cause for mourning before high Heaven to-night that he was not spared thirty years to educate a generation for the time that is to come; for, as in the days when the red banner streamed over the land, the South sent her sons to fight under his flag and beneath the wave of his sword, so these sons have been sent again to sit at his feet when he was the disciple of the Muses and the teacher of philosophy. Oh, that he might have brought his more than regal character, his majestic fame, all his intellectual and moral endowments, to the task of fitting those that should come in the crisis of the future to take the mantle that had fallen from his shoulders and bear it to the generations that are unborn!

"General Lee I accept as the representative of his people, and of the temper with which this whole Southland entered into that gigantic, that prolonged, and that disastrous struggle which has closed, but closed as to us in grief. . . . . .

"And I accept this noble chieftain equally as the representative of this Southland in the spirit of his retirement from struggle. It could not escape any speaker upon this platform to allude to the dignity of that retirement; how, from the moment he surrendered, he withdrew from observation, holding aloof from all political complications, and devoting his entire energies to the great work he had undertaken to discharge. In this he represents the true attitude of the South since the close of the war — an attitude of quiet submission to the conquering power and of obedience to all exactions; but without resiling from those great principles which were embalmed in the struggle, and which, as the convictions of a lifetime, no honest mind could release.

"All over this land of ours there are men like Lee —

not as great, not as symmetrical in the development of character, not as grand in the proportions which they have reached, but who, like him, are sleeping upon memories that are holy as death, and who, amid all reproach, appeal to the future, and to the tribunal of History, when she shall render her final verdict in reference to the struggle closed, for the vindication of the people embarked in that struggle. We are silent, resigned, obedient, and thoughtful, sleeping upon solemn memories, Mr. President; but, as said by the poet-preacher in the Good Book, 'I sleep, but my heart waketh,' looking upon the future that is to come, and powerless in everything except to pray to Almighty God, who rules the destinies of nations, that those who have the power may at least have the grace given them to preserve the constitutional principles which we have endeavored to maintain. And, sir, were it my privilege to speak in the hearing of the entire nation, I would utter with the profoundest emphasis this pregnant truth: that no people ever traversed those moral ideas which underlie its character, its constitution, its institutions, and its laws, that did not in the end perish in disaster, in shame, and in dishonor. Whatever be the glory, the material civilization, of which such a nation may boast, it still holds true that the truth is immortal, and that ideas rule the world. . . . .

"Sir, there is a unity in the grapes when they grow together in the clusters upon the vine, and holding the bunch in your hand, you speak of it as one; but there is another unity, when you throw these grapes into the wine-press, and the feet of those that bruise these grapes trample them almost profanely beneath their feet together in the communion of pure wine. And such is the union and communion of hearts that have been fused by

tribulation and sorrow, and that meet together in the true feeling of an honest grief to express the homage of their affection, as well as to render a tribute of praise to him upon whose face we shall never look until on that immortal day when we shall behold it transfigured before the throne of God."

ATLANTA, GEORGIA, *October 15th.*

GENERAL JOHN B. GORDON.

"MY FRIENDS: We have met to weep — to mingle our tears, and give vent to our bursting hearts. The sorrowing South, already clad in mourners' weeds, bows her head afresh to-day in a heart-stricken orphanage; and if I could have been permitted to indulge the sensibilities of my heart, I would have fled this most honorable task, and in solitude and silence have wept the loss of the great and good man whose death we so deplore. . . . Grandly majestic and dignified in all his deportment, he was genial as the sunlight of this beautiful day, and not a ray of that cordial, social intercourse, but brought warmth to the heart, as it did light to the understanding.

"But as one of the great captains will General Lee first pass review and inspection before the criticism of history. We will not compare him with Washington. The mind will halt instinctively at the comparison of two such men, so equally and gloriously great. But with modest, yet calm and unflinching confidence, we place him by the side of the Marlboroughs and Wellingtons, who take high niches in the pantheon of immortality. Let us dwell for a moment, my friends, on this thought. Marlborough never met defeat, it is true. Victory marked every step of his triumphant march; but when, where, and whom did Marlborough fight? The ambitious and

vain, but able Louis XIV. But he had already exhausted the resources of his kingdom before Marlborough stepped upon the stage. The great marshals, Turenne and Condé, were no more, and Luxembourg the beloved had vanished from the scene. Marlborough, pre-eminently great as he certainly was, nevertheless led the combined forces of England and of Holland, in the freshness of their strength and the fulness of their financial ability, against prostrate France, with a treasury depleted, a people worn out, discouraged, and dejected. But let us turn to another comparison. The great Von Moltke, who now rides upon the whirlwind and commands the storm of Prussian invasion, has recently declared that General Lee, in all respects, was fully the equal of Wellington; and you may the better appreciate this admission when you remember that Wellington was the benefactor of Prussia, and probably Von Moltke's special idol. But let us examine the arguments ourselves. France was already prostrate when Wellington met Napoleon. That great emperor had seemed to make war upon the very elements themselves, to have contended with Nature, and to have almost defeated Providence itself. The enemies of the North, more savage than Goth or Vandal, mounting the swift gales of a Russian winter, had carried death, desolation, and ruin to the very gates of Paris. Wellington fought at Waterloo a bleeding and broken nation — a nation electrified, it is true, to almost superhuman energy by the genius of Napoleon, but a nation prostrate and bleeding nevertheless. Compare this, my friends, the condition of France and the condition of the United States, in the freshness of her strength, in the luxuriance of her resources, in the lustihood of her gigantic youth. Tell me whether to place the chaplet of military superiority with

him, or with Marlborough, or Wellington? Even the greatest of captains, in his Italian campaigns, flashing fame in lightning splendor over the world, even Bonaparte met and crushed in battle but three or four (I think) Austrian armies; while our Lee, with one army badly equipped, in time incredibly short, met and hurled back in broken and shattered fragments five of the best prepared and most magnificently appointed invasions. Yea, more! He discrowned, in rapid succession, one after another of the United States' most accomplished and admirable commanders.

"Lee was never really defeated. Lee could not be defeated! Overpowered, foiled in his efforts, he might be; but never defeated until the props which supported him gave way. Never, until the platform sank beneath him, did any enemy ever dare pursue. On that melancholy occasion, the downfall of the Confederacy, no Leipsic, no Waterloo, no Sedan, can ever be recorded.

"General Lee is known to the world as a military man; but it is easy to divine from his history how mindful of all just authority, how observant of all constitutional restriction, would have been his career as a civilian. When, near the conclusion of the war, darkness was thickening about the falling fortunes of the Confederacy, when its very life was in the sword of Lee, it was my proud privilege to know with a special admiration the modest demeanor, the manly decorum, the respectful homage, which marked all his dealings with the constituted authorities of his country. Clothed with all power, he hid its very symbol behind a genial modesty, and refused ever to exert it save in obedience to law. And even in his triumphant entry into the territory of the enemy, so regardful was he of civilized warfare, that the observance

of his general orders as to private property and private rights left the line of his march marked and marred by no devastated fields, charred ruins, or desolated homes. But it is his private character, or rather I should say his personal emotion and virtue, which his countrymen will most delight to consider and dwell upon. His magnanimity, transcending all historic precedent, seemed to form a new chapter in the book of humanity. Witness that letter to Jackson, after his wounds at Chancellorsville, in which he said: 'I am praying for you with more fervor than I ever prayed for myself.' And that other, more disinterested and pathetic: 'I could, for the good of my country, wish that the wounds which you have received had been inflicted upon my own body.' Or that of the latter message, saying to General Jackson that 'his wounds were not so severe as mine, for he loses but his left arm, while I, in his loss, lose my right." Or that other expression of unequalled magnanimity which enabled him to ascribe the glory of their joint victory to the sole credit of the dying hero. Did I say unequalled? Yes, that was an avowal of unequalled magnanimity, until it met its parallel in his own grander self-negation at Gettysburg. Aye, my countrymen, Alexander had his Arbela, Cæsar his Pharsalia, Napoleon his Austerlitz; but it was reserved for Lee to grow grander and more illustrious in defeat than even in victory — grander, because in defeat he showed a spirit greater than in the heroism of battles, or all the achievements of war — a spirit which crowns him with a chaplet grander far than ever mighty conqueror wore.

"I turn me now to that last closing scene at Appomattox, and I will draw thence a picture of that man as he laid aside the sword, the unrivalled soldier, to become the most exemplary of citizens.

"I can never forget the deferential homage paid this great citizen by even the Federal soldiers, as with uncovered heads they contemplated, in mute admiration, this now captive hero, as he rode through the ranks. Impressed forever, daguerreotyped on my heart is that last parting scene with that handful of heroes still crowding around him. Few indeed were the words then spoken, but the quivering lip and the tearful eye told of the love they bore him, in symphonies more eloquent than any language can describe. Can I ever forget? No, never can I forget the words which fell from his lips as I rode beside him amid the defeated, dejected, and weeping soldiery, when, turning to me, he said: 'I could wish that I was numbered among the fallen in the last battle.' But oh! as he thought of the loss of the cause — of the many dead scattered over so many fields, who, sleeping neglected, with no governmental arms to gather up their remains — sleeping neglected, isolated, and alone, beneath the weeping stars, with naught but their soldiers' blankets about them! — oh! as these emotions swept over his great soul, he felt that he would have laid him down to rest in the same grave where lay buried the common hope of his people. But Providence willed it otherwise. He rests now forever, my countrymen, his spirit in the bosom of that Father whom he so faithfully served, his body beside the river whose banks are forever memorable, and whose waters are vocal with the glories of his triumphs. No sound shall ever wake him to martial glory again; no more shall he lead his invincible lines to victory; no more shall we gaze upon him and draw from his quiet demeanor lessons of life. But oh! it is a sweet consolation to us, my countrymen, who loved him, that no more shall his bright spirit be bowed down to earth with the

burdens of the people's wrongs. It is sweet consolation to us that his last victory, through faith in his crucified Redeemer, is the most transcendently glorious of all his triumphs. At this very hour, while we mourn here, kind friends are consigning the last that remains of our hero to his quiet sleeping-place, surrounded by the mountains of his native State — mountains, the autumnal glory of whose magnificent forests to-day seem but habiliments of mourning. In the valley, the pearly dew-drops seem but tears of sadness upon the grasses and flowers. Let him rest! And now as he has gone from us, and as we regard him in all the aspects of his career and character and attainments as a great captain, ranking among the first of any age: as a patriot, whose sacrificing devotion to his country ranks him with Washington; as a Christian, like Havelock, recognizing his duty to his God above every other earthly consideration, with a native modesty that refused to appropriate the glory of his own achievements, and which surrounds now his entire character and career with a halo of unfading light; with an integrity of life and a sacred regard for truth which no man dare assail; with a fidelity to principle which no misfortune could shake — he must ever stand peerless among men in the estimation of Christendom, this representative son of the South, Robert E. Lee, of Virginia."

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA.

At a meeting held in this city, October 18th, the following resolutions were adopted. They form in themselves a noble tribute to the departed greatness they so eloquently set forth:

"WHEREAS, This day, throughout all this Southern land, sorrow, many-tongued, is ascending to heaven for the

death of Robert E. Lee, and communities everywhere are honoring themselves in striving to do honor to that great name; and we, the people of Augusta, who were not laggards in upholding his glorious banner while it floated to the breeze, would swell the general lamentation of his departure; therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That no people in the tide of time has been bereaved as we are bereaved; for no other people has had such a man to lose. Greece, rich in heroes; Rome, prolific mother of great citizens,—so that the name of Roman is the synonym of all that is noblest in citizenship —had no man coming up to the full measure of this great departed. On scores of battle-fields, consummate commander; everywhere, bravest soldier; in failure, sublimest hero; in disbanding his army, most pathetic of writers; in persecution, most patient of power's victims; in private life, purest of men — he was such that all Christendom, with one consent, named him GREAT. We, recalling that so also mankind have styled Alexander, Cæsar, Frederick, and Napoleon, and beholding in the Confederate leader qualities higher and better than theirs, find that language poor indeed which only enables us to call him 'great'— him standing among the great of all ages pre-eminent.

"*Resolved*, That our admiration of the man is not the partial judgment of his adherents only; but so clear stand his greatness and his goodness, that even the bitterest of foes has not ventured to asperse him. While the air has been filled with calumnies and revilings of his cause, none have been aimed at him. If there are spirits so base that they cannot discover and reverence his greatness and his goodness, they have at least shrunk from encountering the certain indignation of mankind. This day — disfranchised by stupid power as he was;

branded, as he was, in the perverted vocabulary of usurpers as rebel and traitor — his death has even in distant lands moved more tongues and stirred more hearts than the siege of a mighty city and the triumphs of a great king.

"*Resolved*, That, while he died far too soon for his country, he had lived long enough for his fame. This was complete, and the future could unfold nothing to add to it. In this age of startling changes, imagination might have pictured him, even in the years which he yet lacked of the allotted period of human life, once more at the head of devoted armies and the conqueror of glorious fields; but none could have been more glorious than those he had already won. Wrong, too, might again have triumphed over Right, and he have borne defeat with sublimest resignation; but this he had already done at Appomattox. Unrelenting hate to his lost cause might have again consigned him to the walks of private life, and he have become an exemplar of all the virtues of a private station; but this he had already been in the shades of Lexington. The contingencies of the future could only have revealed him greatest soldier, sublimest hero, best of men; and he was already all of these. The years to come were barren of anything which could add to his perfect name and fame. He had nothing to lose; but, alas! we, his people, everything by his departure from this world, which was unworthy of him, to that other where the good and the pure of all ages will welcome him. Thither follow him the undying love of every true Southern man and woman, and the admiration of all the world."

COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA.

GENERAL WADE HAMPTON.

"FELLOW-CITIZENS: — We are called together to-day by an announcement which will cause profound sorrow throughout the civilized world, and which comes to us bearing the additional grief of a personal and private bereavement. The foremost man in all the world is no more; and, as that news is carried by the speed of lightning through every town, village, and hamlet of this land he loved so well, and among those people who loved, honored and venerated him so profoundly, every true heart in the stricken South will feel that the country has lost its pride and glory, and that the citizens of that country have lost a father. I dare not venture to speak of him as I feel. Nor do we come to eulogize him. Not only wherever the English language is spoken, but wherever civilization extends, the sorrow — a part at least of the sorrow — we feel will be felt, and more eloquent tongues than mine will tell the fame and recount the virtues of Robert E. Lee. We need not come to praise him. We come only to express our sympathy, our grief, our bereavement. We come not to mourn him, for we know that it is well with him. We come only to extend our sympathy to those who are bereaved.

"Now that he is fallen, I may mention what I have never spoken of before, to show you not only what were the feelings that actuated him in the duty to which his beloved countrymen called him, but what noble sentiments inspired him when he saw the cause for which he had been fighting so long, about to perish.

"Just before the surrender, after a night devoted to the most arduous duties, as one of his staff came in to see him in the morning, he found him worn and weary

and disheartened, and the general said to him, 'How easily I could get rid of this and be at rest! I have only to ride along the line, and all will be over. But,' — and then there spoke the Christian patriot — 'it is our duty to *live*, for what will become of the women and children of the South if we are not here to protect them?' That same spirit of duty which had actuated him through all the perils and all the hardships of that unequalled conflict which he had waged so heroically, that same high spirit of duty told him that he must live to show that he was great — greater, if that were possible, in peace than in war; live to teach the people whom he had before led to victory how to bear defeat; live to show what a great and good man can accomplish; live to set an example to his people for all time; live to bear, if nothing else, his share of the sorrows, and the afflictions, and the troubles, which had come upon his people. He is now at rest; and surely we of the South can say of him, as we say of his great exemplar, 'the Father of his Country,' that 'he was first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.'"

At a meeting held in Baltimore, later in October, to form a Lee Monument Association, the following address was made by

HON. REVERDY JOHNSON.

"MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: — I am here in compliance with the request of many gentlemen present, and I not only willingly comply with that request, but I am willing to do all I am able to show my appreciation of the character, civil and military, of Robert E. Lee. It was my good fortune to know him before the Mexican war, in those better days before the commencement of

the sad struggle through which we have recently passed. I saw in him everything that could command the respect and admiration of men, and I watched with peculiar interest his course in the Mexican war. It was also my good fortune to know the late Lieutenant-General Scott. In the commencement of the struggle to which I have alluded, I occupied in Washington the position of quasi military adviser to him, and was, in that capacity, intimately associated with him. I have often heard him declare that the glorious and continued success which crowned our arms in the war with Mexico was owing, in a large measure, to the skill, valor, and undaunted courage of Robert E. Lee. He entertained for him the warmest personal friendship, and it was his purpose to recommend him as his successor in the event of his death or inability to perform the duties of his high position. In April, 1861, after the commencement of hostilities between the two great sections of our country, General Lee, then lieutenant-colonel of cavalry in the army of the United States, offered his resignation. I was with General Scott when he was handed the letter of resignation, and I saw what pain the fact caused him. While he regretted the step his most valuable officer had taken, he never failed to say emphatically, and over and over again, that he believed he had taken it from *an imperative sense of duty*. He was also consoled by the belief that if he was placed at the head of the armies of the then Confederation, he would have in him a foeman in every way worthy of him, and one who would conduct the war upon the highest principles of civilized warfare, and that he would not suffer encroachments to be made upon the rights of private property and the rights of unoffending citizens.

"Some may be surprised that I am here to eulogize

Robert E. Lee. It is well known that I did not agree with him in his political views. At the beginning of the late war, and for many years preceding it, even from the foundation of this government, two great questions agitated the greatest minds of this country. Many believed that the allegiance of the citizen was due first to his State, and many were of the opinion that, according to the true reading of the Constitution, a State had no right to leave the Union and claim sovereign rights and perpetual allegiance of her citizens. I did not agree in the first-named opinion, but I knew it was honestly entertained. I knew men of the purest character, of the highest ability, and of the most liberal and patriotic feelings who conscientiously believed it.

"Now the war is over, thank God! and in that thankfulness I am sure this meeting will unite. It is the duty of every citizen of this land to seek to heal the wounds of the war, to forget past differences and to forgive as far as possible the faults to which the war gave rise. In no other way can the Union be truly and permanently restored. We are now together as a band of brothers. The soldiers of the Confederacy, headed by the great chief we now mourn, have expressed their willingness to abide by the issue of the contest. What a spectacle to the world! After years of military devastation, with tens of thousands dead on her battle-fields, with the flower of her children slain, with her wealth destroyed, her commerce swept away, her agriculture and mechanical pursuits almost ruined, the South yielded. The North, victorious and strong, could not forget what she owed to liberty and human rights. We may well swear now that as long as liberty is virtuous we will be brothers.

"Robert E. Lee is worthy of all praise. As a man, he

was peerless; as a soldier, he had no equal and no superior; as a humane and Christian soldier, he towers high in the political horizon.

"You cannot imagine with what delight, when I had the honor to represent this country at the Court of Great Britain, I heard the praises of his fame and character which came from soldiers and statesmen. I need not speak of the comparative merits of General Lee, and the Union generals who opposed him; this is not the place or time for a discussion of their respective successes and defeats; but I may say that, as far as I was able to judge of the sentiments of the military men of Great Britain, they thought none of the Union officers superior to General Robert E. Lee. Their admiration for him was not only on account of his skill on the battle-field, and the skilful manner with which he planned and executed his campaigns, but the humane manner in which he performed his sad duty. They alluded specially to his conduct when invading the territory of his enemy — his restraint upon his men, telling them that the honor of the army depended upon the manner of conducting the war in the enemy's country — and his refusal to resort to retaliatory measures. I know that great influences were brought to bear upon him, when he invaded Pennsylvania, to induce him to consent to extreme measures. His answer, however, was: 'No; if I suffer my army to pursue the course recommended, I cannot invoke the blessing of God upon my arms.' He would not allow his troops to destroy private property or to violate the rights of the citizen. When the necessities of his army compelled the taking of commissary stores by his orders, his officers paid for them in Confederate money at their then valuation. No burning homesteads illumined his march — no shivering

and helpless children were turned out of their homes to witness their destruction by the torch. With him all the rules of civilized war, having the higher sanction of God, were strictly observed. The manly fortitude with which he yielded at Appomattox to three times his numbers showed that he was worthy of the honors and the fame the South had given him. This is not the first time since the termination of the war I have expressed admiration and friendship for Robert E. Lee. When I heard that he was about to be prosecuted in a Virginia Court for the alleged crime of treason, I wrote to him at once, and with all my heart, that if he believed I could be of any service to him, professionally, I was at his command. All the ability I possess, increased by more than fifty years of study and experience, would have been cheerfully exerted to have saved him, for in saving him I believe I would have been saving the honor of my country. I received a characteristic reply in terms of friendship and grateful thanks. He wrote that he did not think the prosecution would take place. Hearing, however, some time after, that the prosecution would commence at Richmond, I went at once to that city and saw his legal adviser, Hon. William H. McFarland, one of the ablest men of the bar of Virginia. Mr. McFarland showed me a copy of a letter from General Lee to General Grant, enclosing an application for a pardon, which he desired General Grant to present to the President, but telling him not to present it if any steps had been taken for his prosecution, as he was willing to stand the test. He wrote that he had understood by the terms of surrender at Appomattox, that he and all his officers and men were to be protected. That letter, I am glad to say, raised General Lee higher in my esteem. General Grant

at once replied, and he showed his reply to me. He wrote that he had seen the President, and protested against any steps being taken against General Lee, and had informed him that he considered his honor and the honor of the nation pledged to him.

"The President became satisfied, and no proceedings were ever taken. General Grant transmitted to the President the application of General Lee for pardon, indorsed with his most earnest approval. No pardon was granted. He did not need it here, and when he appears before that great tribunal before which we must all be called, he will find he has no account to settle there. No soldier who followed General Lee could have felt more grief and sympathy at his grave than I would, could I have been present upon the mournful occasion of his burial. I lamented his death as a private loss, and still more as a public loss. I knew that his example would continue to allay the passions aroused by the war, and which I was not surprised were excited by some acts in that war. I love my country; I am jealous of her honor. I cherish her good name, and I am proud of the land of my birth. I forbear to criticise the lives of her high officers and servants, but I can say with truth that, during the late war, the laws of humanity were forgotten and the higher orders of God were trodden under foot.

"The resolutions need no support which human lips can by human language give. Their subject is their support. The name of Lee appeals at once, and strongly, to every true heart in this land, and throughout the world. Let political partisans, influenced by fanaticism and the hope of political plunder, find fault with and condemn us. They will be forgotten, when the name of Lee will be resplendent with immortal glory.

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, in the course of nature my career upon earth must soon terminate. God grant that when the day of my death comes, I may look up to heaven with that confidence and faith which the life and character of Robert E. Lee gave him. He died trusting in God as a good man, with a good life and a pure conscience. He was consoled with the knowledge that the religion of Christ had ordered all his ways, and he knew that the verdict of God upon the account he would have to render in Heaven would be one of judgment, seasoned with mercy. He had a right to believe that when God passed judgment upon the account of his life, though He would find him an erring human being, He would find virtue enough and religious faith enough to save him from any other verdict, than that of 'well done good and faithful servant.'

"The monument will be raised, and when it is raised, many a man will visit Richmond to stand beside it, to do reverence to the remains it may cover, and to say, 'Here lie the remains of one of the noblest men who ever lived or died in America.'"

REMARKS OF HON. GEO. WM. BROWN.

At the conclusion of Mr. Johnson's address, Hon. Geo. Wm. Brown said:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: — The able and eloquent gentlemen who have preceded me, have left but little for me to say. I rise, however, to express my hearty assent to the resolutions. Their broad and liberal views are worthy of the great and good man whose virtues and fame we seek to commemorate. He has passed away from earth, and our blame or censure are nothing to him now. The most eloquent eulogies that human lips can utter, and

the loftiest monuments that human hands can build, cannot affect him now. But it is a satisfaction to us to know that expressions of the love for him which lives in every Southern heart — aye, in many a Northern heart — were heard long before his death, and that honor shed noble lustre around the last years of his life. He was the representative of a lost cause; he had sheathed his sword forever; he had surrendered his army to superior numbers; he was broken in fortune and in health, and was only president of a Virginia college, yet he was one of the foremost men of all the world. It has been said of General Lee, as it has been said of Washington, that he was deficient in genius. His character was so complete, that what would have seemed evidence of genius with other men, was lost in the combination of his character and mind. He was always, and especially in every great crisis, a leader among men. During the four years of his education at West Point, he did not receive a single reprimand. As a cavalry officer, wherever he went, he was a marked man, and when General Scott made his wonderful march to the capital of Mexico, Captain Lee was his right arm. At the commencement of the late war, though only a lieutenant-colonel of cavalry, he was offered the command of the armies of the United States. What a prize for ambition! Fortune, fame, and honors awaited him! Where would he have been to-day? Probably in the Presidential chair of this great nation. But he rejected all to take his chance with his own people, and to unite with them in their resistance to the vast numbers and resources which he knew the North was able to bring against them. There is nothing more remarkable in the annals of warfare than the success with which General Lee defeated for years the armies of the United States. Consider the six days' battles around Richmond; the

second battle of Manassas; the battles at Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Gettysburg; the wonderful contest at Chancellorsville; then, again, the remarkable battle of the Wilderness, in which it has been said by Federal authority that General Lee actually killed as many men as he had under his command; the defence of Cold Harbor; the prolonged defence of Richmond and Petersburg, and the admirably conducted retreat with but a handful before an immense army. Well has he been spoken of as 'the incomparable strategist.' Did any man ever fight against more desperate odds or resources? But not merely as a great general is General Lee to be admired. He claims our admiration as a great man — great in adversity. I think there is nothing more admirable in all his life than his conduct in assuming the sole responsibility at Gettysburg. In the midst of defeat, Lee was calm, unmoved, showing no fear where despair would have been in the heart of any other general, and saying to his officers and men, 'The fault is all mine.'

"Let the monument be raised not merely by soldiers of General Lee, but by all men, no matter of what political feelings, who appreciate and honor that which is manly, great, and patriotic. The monument at Richmond will be the resort of pilgrims from the North as well as from the South, and the grave of Lee will be second only, in the hearts of the people, to the grave of Washington."

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

At a Memorial Meeting held here, November 3d, Hon. Jefferson Davis addressed the Assembly.

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT DAVIS.

The *Dispatch* says: As Mr. Davis arose to walk to the stand, every person in the house rose to his feet; and there

followed such a storm of applause as seemed to shake the very foundations of the building, while cheer upon cheer was echoed from the throats of veterans saluting one whom they delighted to honor.

Mr. Davis spoke at length, and with his accustomed, thrilling, moving eloquence. We shall not attempt, at the late hour at which we write, to give a full report of his address.

He addressed his hearers as: "*Soldiers and sailors of the Confederacy, comrades and friends:*

"Assembled on this sad occasion, with hearts oppressed with the grief that follows the loss of him who was our leader on many a bloody battle-field, a pleasing, though melancholy spectacle, is presented. Hitherto, and in all times, men have been honored when successful; but here is the case of one who, amid disasters, went down to his grave, and those who were his companions in misfortune have assembled to honor his memory. It is as much an honor to you who give, as to him who receives; for, above the vulgar test of merit, you show yourselves competent to discriminate between him who enjoys and him who deserves success.

"Robert E. Lee was my associate and friend in the military academy, and we were friends until the hour of his death. We were associates and friends when he was a soldier and I a congressman; and associates and friends when he led the armies of the Confederacy, and I presided in its Cabinet. We passed through many sad scenes together, but I cannot remember that there was ever aught but perfect harmony between us. If ever there was difference of opinion, it was dissipated by discussion, and harmony was the result. I repeat, *we never disagreed*, and I may add that I never in my life saw in him the

slightest tendency to self-seeking. It was not his to make a record, it was not his to shift blame to other shoulders; but it was his with an eye fixed upon the welfare of his country, never faltering to follow the line of duty to the end. His was the heart that braved every difficulty; his was the mind that wrought victory out of defeat.

"He has been charged with 'want of dash.' I wish to say that I never knew Lee to hesitate to attempt anything ever man could dare. An attempt also has been made to throw a cloud upon his character, because he left the army of the United States to join in the struggle for the liberty of his State. Without trenching at all upon politics, I deem it my duty to say one word in reference to this charge. Virginian born, descended from a family illustrious in Virginia's annals, given by Virginia to the service of the United States, he represented her in the Military Academy at West Point. He was not educated by the Federal Government, but by Virginia; for she paid her full share for the support of that institution, and was entitled to demand in return the services of her sons. Entering the army of the United States, he represented Virginia there also, and nobly. On many a hard-fought field Lee was conspicuous, battling for his native State as much as for the Union. He came from Mexico crowned with honors, covered by brevets, and recognized, young as he was, as one of the ablest of his country's soldiers. And to prove that he was estimated then as such, let me tell you that when Lee was a captain of engineers, stationed in Baltimore, the *Cuban Junta* in New York selected him to be their leader in the struggle for the independence of their native country. They were anxious to secure his services, and offered him every temptation that ambition could desire. He thought the

matter over, and, I remember, came to Washington to consult me as to what he should do; and when I began to discuss the complications which might arise from his acceptance of the trust, he gently rebuked me, saying that this was not the line upon which he wished my advice — the simple question was, 'Whether it was right or not?' He had been educated by the United States, and felt it wrong to accept a place in the army of a foreign power. Such was his extreme delicacy, such was the nice sense of honor of the gallant gentleman whose death we deplore. But when Virginia withdrew — the State to whom he owed his first and last allegiance — the same nice sense of honor led him to draw his sword, and throw it in the scale for good or for evil. Pardon me for this brief defence of my illustrious friend.

"When Virginia joined the Confederacy, Robert Lee, the highest officer in the little army of Virginia, came to Richmond, and not pausing to inquire what would be his rank in the service of the Confederacy, went to Western Virginia under the belief that he was still an officer of the State. He came back, carrying the heavy weight of defeat, and unappreciated by the people whom he served, for they could not know, as I knew, that if his plans and orders had been carried out, the result would have been victory rather than retreat. You did not know it; for I would not have known it, had he not breathed it in my ear only at my earnest request, and begging that nothing be said about it. The clamor which then arose followed him when he went to South Carolina, so that it became necessary on his going to South Carolina to write a letter to the Governor of that State, telling him what manner of man he was. Yet, through all this, with a magnanimity rarely equalled, he stood in silence, without de-

fending himself, or allowing others to defend him, for he was unwilling to offend any one who was wearing a sword and striking blows for the Confederacy."

Mr. Davis then spoke of the straits to which the Confederacy was reduced, and of the danger to which her capital was exposed just after the battle of Seven Pines, and told how General Lee had conceived and executed the desperate plan to turn the flank and rear of the enemy, which, after seven days of bloody battle, was crowned with the protection of Richmond, while the enemy was driven far from the city.

The speaker referred also to the circumstances attending General Lee's crossing the Potomac and the march into Pennsylvania. He (Mr. Davis) assumed the responsibility for that movement. The enemy had long been concentrating his forces, and it was evident that if they continued their steady progress, the Confederacy would be overwhelmed. Our only hope was to drive him to the defence of his own capital, we being enabled in the meantime to reinforce our shattered army. How well General Lee carried out that dangerous experiment need not be told. Richmond was relieved, the Confederacy was relieved, and time was obtained, if other things had favored, to reinforce the army.

"But," said Mr. Davis, "I shall not attempt to review the military career of our fallen chieftain. Of the man how shall I speak? He was my friend, and in that word is included all that I could say of any man. His moral qualities rose to the height of his genius. Self-denying — always intent upon the one idea of duty — self-controlled to an extent that many thought him cold. His feelings were really warm, and his heart melted freely at the sight of a wounded soldier, or the story of the sufferings of the

widow and orphan. During the war he was ever conscious of the inequality of the means at his control; but it was never his to complain or to utter a doubt; it was always his to do. When, in the last campaign, he was beleaguered at Petersburg, and painfully aware of the straits to which we were reduced, he said, 'With my army in the mountains of Virginia, I could carry on this war for twenty years longer.' His men exhausted, and his supplies failing, he was unable to carry out his plans. An untoward event caused him to anticipate the movement, and the army of Northern Virginia was overwhelmed. But in the surrender, he anticipated conditions that have not been fulfilled — he expected his army to be respected and his paroled soldiers to be allowed the enjoyments of life and property. Whether these conditions have been fulfilled, let others say.

"Here he now sleeps in the land he loved so well, and that land is not Virginia only, for they do injustice to Lee who believe he fought only for Virginia. He was ready to go anywhere, on any service, for the good of his country, and his heart was as broad as the fifteen States struggling for the principles that our forefathers fought for in the Revolution of 1776. He is sleeping in the same soil with the thousands who fought under the same flag, but first offered up their lives. Here the living are assembled to honor his memory, and there the skeleton sentinels keep watch over his grave. This citizen, this soldier, this great general, this true patriot, left behind him the crowning glory of a true Christian. His Christianity ennobled him in life, and affords us grounds for the belief that he is happy beyond the grave.

"But, while we mourn the loss of the great and the true, drop we also tears of sympathy with her who was

his help meet — the noble woman who, while her husband was in the field leading the army of the Confederacy, though an invalid herself, passed her time in knitting socks for the marching soldiers. A woman fit to be the mother of heroes — and heroes are descended from her. Mourning with her, we can only offer the consolation of a Christian. Our loss is not his, but he now enjoys the rewards of a life well spent and a never-wavering trust in a risen Saviour. This day we unite our words of sorrow with those of the good and great throughout Christendom, for his fame has gone over the water — his deeds will be remembered; and when the monument we build shall have crumbled into dust, his virtues will still live, a high model for the imitation of generations yet unborn."

MEMORIAL RESOLUTIONS.

Colonel C. S. Venable then presented the following report of the Committee on Resolutions:

"WHEREAS, It is a high and holy duty, as well as a noble privilege, to perpetuate the honors of those who have displayed eminent virtues and performed great achievements, that they may serve as incentives and examples to the latest generation of their countrymen, and attest the reverential admiration and affectionate regard of their compatriots; *and whereas*, this duty and privilege devolves on all who love and admire General Robert E. Lee throughout this country and the world, and in an especial manner upon those who followed him in the field; or who fought in the same cause, who shared in his glories, partook of his trials, and were united with him in the same sorrows and adversity; who were devoted to him in war by the baptism of fire and blood, and bound to him in peace by the still higher homage due to the rare and grand

exhibition of a character pure and lofty and gentle and true, under all changes of fortune, and serene amid the greatest disasters; therefore, be it

"1. *Resolved*, That we favor an association to erect a monument at Richmond to the memory of Robert E. Lee, as an enduring testimonial of our love and respect and devotion to his fame.

"2. *Resolved*, That while donations will be gladly received from all who recognize in the excellencies of General Lee's character an honor and an encouragement to our common humanity, and an abiding hope that coming generations may be found to imitate his virtues, it is desirable that every Confederate soldier and sailor should make some contribution, however small, to the proposed monument.

"3. *Resolved*, That for the purpose of securing the efficiency and dispatch in the erection of the monument, an executive committee of seventy-five, with a president, secretary, treasurer, auditor, &c., be appointed to invite and collect subscriptions, to procure designs for said monument, to select the best, to provide for the organization of central executive committees in other States, which may serve as mediums of communication between the executive committee of the Association and the local associations of these States.

"4. *Resolved*, That we respectfully invite the ladies of the Hollywood Association to lend us their assistance and co-operation in the collection of subscriptions.

"5. *Resolved*, That we cordially approve of the local monuments now proposed to be erected by other associations at Atlanta, and at Lexington, his last home, whose people were so closely united with him in the last sad years of his life.

"6. *Resolved*, That while we cordially thank the Governor and Legislature of Virginia for the steps they have taken to do honor to the memory of General Lee, yet in deference to the wishes of his loved and venerated widow, with whom we mourn, we will not discuss the question of the most fitting resting-place for his ever-glorious remains, but will content ourselves with expressing the earnest desire and hope that at some future proper time they will be committed to the charge of this Association."

Generals John S. Preston, John B. Gordon, and Henry A. Wise and William Henry Preston, and Colonels Robert E. Withers and Charles Marshall, delivered eloquent and appropriate speeches, and argued that Richmond is the proper place for the final interment of the remains of General Lee.

The Resolutions were adopted, and the meeting adjourned.

Extracts from the English Press.

PALL MALL GAZETTE.

"Even amid the turmoil of the great European struggle, the intelligence from America announcing that General Robert E. Lee is dead, will be received with deep sorrow by many in this country, as well as by his followers and fellow-soldiers in America. It is but a few years since Robert E. Lee ranked among the great men of the present time. He was the able soldier of the Southern Confederacy, the bulwark of her Northern frontier, the obstacle to the advance of the Federal armies, and the leader who twice threatened, by the capture of Washington, to turn the tide of success, and to accomplish a revolution which would have changed the destiny of the

United States. Six years passed by and then we heard that he was dying at an obscure town in Virginia, where, since the collapse of the Confederacy, he had been acting as a schoolmaster. When at the head of the last eight thousand of his valiant army, the remnants which battle, sickness and famine had left him, he delivered up his sword to General Grant at Appomattox Court-House, his public career ended; he passed away from men's thoughts; and few in Europe cared to inquire the fate of the General whose exploits had aroused the wonder of neutrals and belligerents, and whose noble character had excited the admiration of even the most bitter of his political enemies. If, however, success is not always to be accounted as the sole foundation for renown, General Lee's life and career deserve to be held in reverence by all who admire the talents of a General and the noblest qualities of a soldier. His family were well known in Virginia. Descended from the cavaliers who first colonized that State, they had produced more than one man who fought with distinction for their country. They were allied by marriage to Washington, and, previous to the recent war, were possessed of much wealth; General (then Colonel) Robert Lee residing, when not employed with his regiment, at Arlington Heights, one of the most beautiful places in the neighborhood of Washington. When the civil war first broke out, he was a colonel in the United States Army, had served with distinction in Mexico, and was accounted among the best of the American officers. To him, as to others, the difficult choice presented itself, whether to take the side of his State, which had joined in the secession of the South, or to support the central government. It is said that Lee debated the matter with General Scott, then commander-in-chief; that both agreed

that their first duty lay with their State, but that the former only put the theory into practice.

"It was not until the second year of the war that Lee came prominently forward, when, at the indecisive battle of Fair Oaks, in front of Richmond, General Johnston having been wounded, he took command of the army; and subsequently drove McClellan, with great loss, to the banks of the James River. From that time he became the recognized leader of the Confederate army of Virginia. He repulsed wave after wave of invasion, army after army being hurled against him only to be thrown back, beaten, and in disorder. The Government at Washington were kept in constant alarm by the near vicinity of his troops, and witnessed more than once the entry into their intrenchments of a defeated and disorganized rabble, which a few days previous had left them a confident host. Twice he entered the Northern States at the head of a successful army, and twice indecisive battles alone preserved from destruction the Federal Government, and turned the fortune of the war. He impressed his character on those who acted under him. Ambition for him had no charms, duty alone was his guide. His simplicity of life checked luxury and display among his officers, while his disregard of hardships silenced the murmurs of his harassed soldiery. By the troops he was loved as a father, as well as admired as a general; and his deeply-religious character impressed itself on all who were brought in contact with him, and made itself felt through the ranks of the Virginian army. It is said that, during four years of war, he never slept in a house, but in winter and summer shared the hardships of his soldiers. Such was the man who, in mature age, at a period of life when few generals have acquired renown, fought against over-

whelming odds for the cause which he believed just. He saw many of his bravest generals and dearest friends fall around him, but, although constantly exposed to fire, escaped without a wound.

"The battles which prolonged and finally decided the issue of the contest, are now little more than names. Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg, are forgotten in Europe by all excepting those who study recent wars as lessons for the future, and would collect from the deeds of other armies experience which they may apply to their own. To them the boldness of Lee's tactics at Chancellorsville will ever be a subject of admiration; while even those who least sympathize with his cause will feel for the General who saw the repulse of Longstreet's charge of Gettysburg, and beheld the failure of an attempt to convert a defensive war into one of attack, together with the consequent abandonment of the bold stroke which he had hoped would terminate the contest. Quietly he rallied the broken troops; taking all the blame on himself, he encouraged the officers, dispirited by the reverse, and in person formed up the scattered detachments. Again, when fortune had turned against the Confederacy, when overwhelming forces from all sides pressed back her defenders, Lee, for a year, held his ground with a constantly diminishing army, fighting battle after battle in the forests and swamps around Richmond. No reverses seemed to dispirit him, no misfortune appeared to ruffle his calm, brave temperament. Only at last, when he saw the remnants of his noble army about to be ridden down by Sheridan's cavalry, when eight thousand men, half starved and broken with fatigue, were surrounded by the net which Grant and Sherman had spread around them, did he yield; his fortitude for

the moment gave way; he took farewell of his soldiers; and, giving himself up as a prisoner, retired a ruined man into private life, gaining his bread by the hard and uncongenial work of governing Lexington College.

"When political animosity has calmed down, and when Americans can look back on those years of war with feelings unbiassed by party strife, then will General Lee's character be appreciated by all his countrymen as it now is by a part, and his name will be honored as that of one of the noblest soldiers who have ever drawn a sword in a cause which they believed just, and at the sacrifice of all personal considerations have fought manfully a losing battle."

LONDON STANDARD.

"Few are the generals who have earned, since history began, a greater military reputation; still fewer are the men of similar eminence, civil or military, whose personal qualities would bear comparison with his. The bitterest enemies of his country hardly dared to whisper a word against the character of her most distinguished General, while neutrals regarded him with an admiration for his deeds, and respect for his lofty and unselfish nature, which almost grew into veneration, and his own countrymen learned to look up to him with as much confidence and esteem as they ever felt for Washington. . . . . .

"No one pretending to understand in the least either the general principles of military science or the particular conditions of the American war, doubts that General Lee gave higher proofs of military genius and soldiership than any of his opponents. He was outnumbered from first to last; and all his victories were gained against greatly superior forces, and with troops deficient in every necessary

of war except courage and discipline. Never perhaps was so much achieved against odds so terrible. . . . . .

"Always outnumbered, always opposed to a foe abundantly supplied with food, transports, ammunition, clothing, and all that was wanting to his own men, he was always able to make courage and skill supply the deficiency of strength and of supplies. . . . . .

"Truer greatness, a loftier nature, a spirit more unselfish, a character purer, more chivalrous, the world has rarely, if ever, known. Of stainless hue and deep religious feeling, yet free from all taint of cant and fanaticism, and as dear and congenial to the cavalier Stuart as to the puritan Stonewall Jackson; unambitious, but ready to sacrifice all at the call of duty; devoted to his cause, yet never moved by his feelings beyond the line prescribed by his judgment; never provoked by just resentment to punish wanton cruelty by reprisals which would have given a character of needless savagery to the war; both North and South owe a deep debt of gratitude to him, and the time will come when both will be equally proud of him. And well they may, for his character and his life afford a complete answer to the reproaches commonly cast on money-grabbing, mechanical America. A country which has given birth to men like him and those who followed him, may look the chivalry of Europe in the face without shame, for the father-lands of Sidney and of Bayard never produced a nobler soldier, gentleman, and Christian than General Robert E. Lee."

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

At the meeting held on the 15th of October, it was resolved that a eulogy should be pronounced on General Lee — the 19th of January, 1871. General A. R. Lawton was appointed to deliver it.

From the published pamphlet, we make the following extracts, with which we close this collection.

EULOGY BY GEN. LAWTON.

"Nearly seventy-one years ago, in conformity with a resolution of the Congress of the United States, and a proclamation of the President — on the anniversary of the birthday of WASHINGTON — the people of every city, town, village, and hamlet, assembled in public meetings to testify their grief by suitable eulogies and public prayers, and render their heartfelt tribute of affection for the memory of the *Father of his country.* The grief was universal, and the testimonials such as could be claimed for him, who had given existence to a young Republic, of free and happy people. All that was said and done on that solemn occasion, was under the sanction and connected with the organization of a powerful government, which he had been chiefly instrumental in creating. The great captain and statesman of the generation in which he lived, he died a conqueror in the field, and the successful founder of an empire.

"To-day, we meet to do homage to the memory of one whose great struggles and trials in the field — with all his mighty efforts to accomplish what his and our hearts most desired — resulted in final disaster, and the surrender of the patriot army which he led — who lived not to see any of the direct or material results accomplished to which these stupendous struggles were directed. With no government to announce his death, and no organization to preserve his memory, we are here to-day, my friends, summoned only by the spontaneous impulses of our hearts, to mourn the loss, and commemorate the virtues of ROBERT E. LEE. The entire people of this Southern

land mourn him with a sorrow all the more touching, for the pathos there is in the fallen fortunes of the truly great and good, and with a measure of respect, admiration and gratitude, such as has never been evoked from any people under the sun. At the hour of his death, without power, without place, the chieftain of a lost cause, yet was he the most illustrious and beloved personage of the age in which he lived — upon whom dearest hopes were confidently fixed in times of fearful trial and suffering; and when hope was gone, confidence, respect and veneration remained, intensified and illustrated by the utmost love and affection of this entire land. Such is the result of the life and death of General LEE; such is the spectacle presented by this assemblage of a sorrowing people!

"Why is this so? What were the elements of his character, and what the events of his life; what had he done and suffered, which made him so truly great and good, and caused him to be respected, admired and beloved, beyond all other men of the century in which he lived? To find response to these inquiries, is the perilous task which your kindness has assigned me. While we must look to his own character, his own deeds, and his own virtues, for the true causes which combine to produce the results we now contemplate, and place him far above the necessity of appealing to heraldry or ancestry for his title to glory and renown, these influences are not to be disregarded; nor is the power of *race* to be lightly spoken of, even in the formation of such a sublime character as his.

"Descended from an old and prominent family in England, one of whom passed over the channel with William the Conqueror, and another as first Earl of Litchfield, at the head of his company of cavaliers,

accompanied Richard Cœur de Leon, in the third crusade, their armor may be seen in its appropriate place in the Tower of London, and banners surmounted by the family arms found in the chapel at Windsor Palace. And from the settlement of Virginia to the present day, they have filled the highest offices, Colonial, State, and Federal, in the cabinet and in the field. But perhaps no one of this extraordinary family has given evidence of greater natural powers, or greater aptitude for public affairs, military and civil, than the immediate ancestor of General Lee, 'Light-Horse Harry,' of the Revolution. Accustomed to think of him merely as the bold and dashing partisan leader, the favorite of Washington, the great support of Greene, we too often forget that he was also a consummate orator, and endowed with the most exquisite classical taste. His letters to his oldest son (by the second marriage) are full of the most beautiful classical allusions; and in one of them he discussed, like a master, the sublime doctrine of the 'immortality of the soul.' But above all did he inculcate *truth* and *self-command* upon his children. . . . .

"LEE, a Virginian born and bred, all the traditions and glory of his ancestors, all the impulses of his noble heart, impelled him to share the fortunes and accept the fate of his native Commonwealth. An officer, 't is true, of the Federal Government, but lent to that government by the State of Virginia; and only so long as Virginia consented thereto. He had fought under its flag, and furnished his shining contribution to that track of glory left by the victorious march of its armies. Sad and painful indeed was the issue presented, but he did not hesitate a moment to tread the path of *duty;* and decided at once not to remain in a position where he could be called upon to raise his hand against his relatives, his children, and

his home, and the grand old Commonwealth, to which his allegiance was due. He resigned his commission in the United States army (on the 20th of April, 1861,) in a letter full of sadness and pathos, and tendered his services to his own Virginia. Placed at once in chief command of the forces raised by that State, when Virginia became one of the 'Confederate States of America,' he was transferred, with all these troops, to the armies of the young republic. He received the commission of full general in the army of the Confederate States; and the prestige of his name, and the opinions already formed of his wonderful capacity for military command, at once marked him for the confidence and the hopes of a gallant and struggling people. Insensibly to himself he stood up as one of those

> "'Men on whose shoulders at a moment's warning,
> The weight of mightiest interests was flung,
> Who in the conflict cannot shrink, or pause
> Tho' for mere breath, and still must lift their crests
> Knight-like, and 'mid the clang and clash of blows,
> Gigantic hold their fame up with firm hands,
> And a grand issue grandly vindicate.' . . . . . .

"At Lexington the great Southern leader intrenched himself upon the new battle-field of education and intelligence, and gathered around him the ardent youth of a new generation, and the spirits of the illustrious dead, for the redemption of his conquered country. Lexington is the capital on the column, otherwise incomplete, of a harmonious and beautiful patriotism. Thus in the discharge of that 'duty,' which he himself has said in a letter to his son, 'is the sublimest word in our language,' he continued to live until the end of his days.

"But in this quiet and retirement, his great heart was oppressed by the condition and the wrongs of his beloved South. He had expected from a powerful nation accepting the surrender of his sword, if not that magnanimity, at least that exercise of *policy*, which the extent of their achievements, and the practice of the great nations of the earth, would have dictated. He knew that in the palmy days of Rome no triumphs were decreed for the results of civil wars, but every effort used to gain the vanquished by benefits conferred, and thus admit them again into the great Roman family. And thus had Rome presented the imposing spectacle of 'a city which becomes a people, and a people which embraces the world.'

"But neither magnanimity, nor the lessons of history, could produce such a result with the government that accepted his surrender.

"History gives us no account of a more unhappy people than were ours, after the close of the war. Their cause was lost, their liberties gone, the whole surface of the country spotted over with the graves of their martyred dead; their motives aspersed, their character maligned, their families broken up, their homes desolate, their churches desecrated, their towns burned and pillaged, their fields lying waste, and their children starving; and the future so dark and uncertain as to shed no light upon the cheerless present. The keenness of the anguish which he felt was aggravated and intensified, not only by demonstrations of the ardent love which this people bore him, but by that *silence* which he imposed on himself, for example and policy, and which was sometimes mistaken for a want of thorough appreciation of the wrongs under which we suffered. As he looked with painful anxiety to the future, there was a glimmer of hope that *material*

prosperity might yet return to this stricken land; that the waste places might be again made glad, and a generous soil once more reward the labor of the husbandman. His imagination might see, for his children if not for himself, the valleys of his beloved South once more covered with waving corn, and once more the cattle upon a thousand hills. And as he thought upon the hecatombs of those he loved, who had been sacrificed to constitutional freedom, and the blood of his kinsmen and his friends, yet smoking amid the desolations of his home, his bereaved friendship was consoled by the faith which points to the Eternal Morning — and the voice of the Redeemer of mankind, which says, 'Thy brother is not dead, but sleepeth,' taught him to look for reunion in the hopes of immortality. But his suffering patriot heart could find only *despair* in the lessons of history. Freedom once abused by a people, dies and has no resurrection. A farewell once taken is too often sad and final, and we are left to abide our doom in stolid resignation. Such was the picture presented to his mind by the condition of the great American Republic; and the bitterness was only increased by the fact that the mass of those who controlled her destiny were blind to her real condition.

> "'To mute and to material things,
> New life revolving summer brings,
> The genial call dead Nature hears,
> And in her glory reappears;
> But, oh! my country's wintry state,
> What second spring shall renovate?'

"The cold steel had entered his heart, and pierced it to the core. Grandly he struggled, but gradually he sunk, under the weight of suffering, mental and physical. A disease contracted as far back as the campaign of 1864,

was slowly but surely undermining a constitution well-nigh as remarkable as his mental and moral endowments. Possessed of extraordinary manly beauty, both of face and form, he had a strength of body, and a capacity for action, for endurance of hunger, fatigue, and exposure, which has rarely ever been equalled. He struggled to the last, and never succumbed to disease, until actually stricken down in the very discharge of a specific duty....

"The first sensation produced by the news of General Lee's death can never be forgotten, but may not be described. Confined to no sect, or class, or latitude, the news flashed across the Atlantic, and claimed the most marked attention, even amid the clash of arms on that side of the ocean. And the unmistakable estimation in which his exalted character was held by all true men, North and South, exhibited to us the first ray of hope that a returning sense of justice was at hand. So intense was the feeling, and so decided the demonstrations, that even they who would not join in the outburst of sorrow were content to remain silent. Never before did the quaint but pointed language of Jeremy Taylor, uttered more than two hundred years ago, more fitly apply to the life and death of any man: 'He lived as we should all live, and died as I fain would die. Such was his death, that he did not die too soon. And his life was so useful and so excellent that he could not have lived too long. Death consecrates and makes sacred that person whose excellency was such, that they who are not displeased at the death cannot dispraise the life; but they that mourn sadly can never commend sufficiently.'"

FINIS.

Nicholas M. Williams,
CATHOLIC BOOKSELLER

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